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THE
TWELFTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External History of the Church.

Vol. III.

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CHAPTER I.

Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the church during this century.

A CONSIDERABLE part of *Europe* lay yet involved in Pagan darkness, which reigned more especially in the northern provinces. It was, therefore, in these regions of gloomy superstition, that the zeal of the missionaries was principally exerted in this century; though their efforts were not all equally successful, nor the methods they employed for the propagation of the gospel equally prudent. BOLESLAUS, duke of *Poland*, having conquered the Pomeranians, offered them peace upon condition that they would receive the Christian doctors, and permit them to exercise their ministry in that vanquished province. This condition was accepted, and OTHO, bishop of *Bamberg*, a man of eminent piety and zeal, was sent, in the year 1124, to inculcate and explain the doctrines of Christianity among that superstitious and barbarous people. Many were converted to the faith by his ministry, while great

Several of the northern provinces received the light of the gospel.

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numbers ſtood firm againſt his moſt vigorous efforts, and perſiſted with an invincible obſtinacy in the religion of their idolatrous anceſtors. Nor was this the only mortification which that illuſtrious prelate received in the execution of his pious enterpriſe; for, upon his return into *Germany*, many of thoſe, whom he had engaged in the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, apoſtatiſed in his abſence, and relapſed into their ancient prejudices; this obliged OTHO to undertake a ſecond voyage into *Pomerania*, A. D. 1126, in which, after much oppoſition and difficulty, his labours were crowned with a happier iſſue, and contributed much to enlarge the bounds of the riſing church, and to eſtabliſh it upon ſolid foundations [*a*]. From this period, the Chriſtian religion ſeemed to acquire daily new degrees of ſtability among the Pomeranians; who could not be perſuaded hitherto to permit the ſettlement of a biſhop among them. They now received ADALBERT, or ALBERT, in that character, who was accordingly the firſt biſhop of *Pomerania*.

The Sclavonians and inhabitants of the iſle of *Rugen*.

II. Of all the northern princes in this century, none appeared with a more diſtinguiſhed luſtre than WALDEMAR I. king of *Denmark*, who acquired an immortal name by the glorious battles he fought againſt the Pagan nations, ſuch as the Sclavonians, Venedi, Vandals, and others, who, either by their incurſions or this revolt, drew upon them the weight of his victorious arm. He unſheathed his ſword not only for the defence and

[*a*] See HENR. CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. part II. p. 34. where we find the life of OTHO, who, A. D. 1189, was canoniſed by CLEMENT III. See the *Acta Sanctor. menſis Julii*, tom. i. p. 349.—DAN. CRAMERI *Chronicon Eccleſ. Pomeraniæ*, lib. i. as alſo a learned *Diſſertation* concerning the converſion of the Pomeranians by the miniſtry of OTHO, written in the German language by CHRISTOPHER SCHOTGEN, and publiſhed at *Stargard* in the year 1724. Add to theſe, MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 123. 146. 323.

happineſs of his people, but alſo for the propagation and advancement of Chriſtianity; and wherever his arms were ſucceſsful, there he pulled down the temples and images of the gods, deſtroyed their altars, laid waſte their ſacred groves, and ſubſtituted in their place the Chriſtian worſhip, which deſerved to be propagated by better means than the ſword, by the authority of reaſon rather than by the deſpotic voice of power. The iſland of *Rugen*, which lies in the neighbourhood of *Pomerania*, ſubmitted to the victorious arms of WALDEMAR, A. D. 1168; and its fierce and ſavage inhabitants, who were, in reality, no more than a band of robbers and pirates, were obliged, by that prince, to hear the inſtructions of the pious and learned doctors that followed his army, and to receive the Chriſtian worſhip. This ſalutary work was brought to perfection by ABSALOM, archbiſhop of *Lunden*, a man of a ſuperior genius, and of a moſt excellent character in every reſpect, whoſe eminent merit raiſed him to the ſummit of power, and engaged WALDEMAR to place him at the head of affairs [*b*].

III. The Finlanders received the goſpel in the ſame manner in which it had been propagated

The Finlanders.

[*b*] SAXO-GRAMMATICUS, *Hiſtor. Danic.* lib. xiv. p. 239. HELMOLDUS, *Chron. Sclavorum*, lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 234. & HENR. BANGERTUS, *ad h. l.*—PONTOPPIDANI *Annales Eccleſiæ Danicæ*, tom. i. p. 404.

☞ Beſides the hiſtorians here mentioned by Dr. MOSHEIM, we refer the curious reader to an excellent hiſtory of *Denmark*, written in French by M. MALLET, profeſſor at *Copenhagen*. In the firſt volume of this hiſtory, the ingenious and learned author has given a very intereſting account of the progreſs of Chriſtianity in the northern parts of *Europe*, and a particular relation of the exploits of ABSALOM, who was, at the ſame time, archbiſhop, general, admiral, and prime miniſter, and who led the victorious Danes to battle by ſea and land, without neglecting the cure of ſouls, or diminiſhing, in the leaſt, his pious labours in the propagation of the goſpel abroad, and its maintenance and ſupport at home.

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among the inhabitants of the isle of *Rugen*. They were also a fierce and savage people, who lived by plunder, and infested *Sweden* in a terrible manner by their perpetual incursions, until, after many bloody battles, they were totally defeated by ERIC IX., and were, in consequence thereof, reduced under the Swedish yoke. Historians differ about the precise time when this conquest was completed [*c*]; but they are all unanimous in their accounts of its effects. The Finlanders were commanded to embrace the religion of the conqueror, which the greatest part of them did, though with the utmost reluctance [*d*]. The founder and ruler of this new church was HENRY, archbishop of *Upsal*, who accompanied the victorious monarch in that bloody campaign. This prelate, whose zeal was not sufficiently tempered with the mild and gentle spirit of the religion he taught, treated the new converts with great severity, and was assassinated at last in a cruel manner on account of the heavy penance he imposed upon a person of great authority, who had been guilty of manslaughter. This melancholy event procured HENRY the honours of sainthip and martyrdom, which were solemnly conferred upon him by pope ADRIAN IV. [*e*].

The Livonians.

IV. The propagation of the gospel among the Livonians was attended with much difficulty, and also with horrible scenes of cruelty and bloodshed.

[*c*] Most writers, with BARONIUS, place this event in the year 1151. Different, however, from this is the chronology of VASTOVIUS and OERNHIELMIUS, the former placing it A. D. 1150, and the latter A. D. 1157.

[*d*] OERNHIELMII *Histor. Eccles. gentis Suecorum*, lib. iv. cap. iv. § 13.—JO. LOCENII *Histor. Suecica*, lib. iii. p. 76. ed. *Francof.*—ERLANDI *Vita Erici Sancti*, cap. vii.—VASTOVII *Vitis Aquilonia*, p. 65.

[*e*] VASTOVII *Vitis Aquilon. seu Vitæ Sanctorum regni Sugothici*, p. 62. ERIC. BENZELII *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Suegothicæ*, part 1. p. 33.

The

The firſt miſſionary, who attempted the converſion of that ſavage people, was MAINARD, a regular canon of *St. Auguſtin*, in the monaſtery of *Sigeberg*, who, towards the concluſion of this century [*f*], travelled to *Livonia*, with a company of merchants of *Bremen*, who traded thither, and improved this opportunity of ſpreading the light of the goſpel in that barbarous region of ſuperſtition and darkneſs. The inſtructions and exhortations of this zealous apoſtle were little attended to, and produced little or no effect upon that uncivilized nation: whereupon he addreſſed himſelf to the Roman pontif URBAN III., who conſecrated him biſhop of the Livonians, and, at the ſame time, declared a *holy* war againſt that obſtinate people. This war, which was at firſt carried on againſt the inhabitants of the province of *Eſthonia*, was continued with ſtill greater vigour and rendered more univerſal by BERTHOLD, abbot of *Lucca*, who left his monaſtery to ſhare the labours and laurels of MAINARD, whom he, accordingly, ſucceeded in the ſee of *Livonia*. The new biſhop marched into that province at the head of a powerful army which he had raiſed in *Saxony*, preached the goſpel ſword in hand, and proved its truth by blows inſtead of arguments. ALBERT, canon of *Bremen*, became the third biſhop of *Livonia*, and followed, with a barbarous enthuſiaſm, the ſame military methods of converſion that had been practiſed by his predeceſſor. He entered *Livonia*, A. D. 1198, with a freſh body of troops, drawn out of *Saxony*, and encamping at *Riga*, inſtituted there, by the direction of the Roman pontif INNOCENT III., the *military order of the knights ſword-bearers* [*g*], who were commiſſioned to dragoon the Livonians into the

[*f*] In the year 1186.
[*g*] *Equeſtris Ordo Militum Enſiferorum.*

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profeſſion of Chriſtianity, and to oblige them, by force of arms, to receive the benefits of baptiſm [*b*]. New legions were ſent from *Germany* to ſecond the efforts, and add efficacy to the miſſion, of theſe booted apoſtles; and they, together with the knights ſword-bearers, ſo cruelly oppreſſed, ſlaughtered, and tormented this wretched people, that exhauſted, at length, and unable to ſtand any longer firm againſt the arm of perſecution, ſtrengthened ſtill by new acceſſions of power, they abandoned the ſtatutes of their pagan deities, and ſubſtituted in their place the images of the ſaints. But while they received the bleſſings of the goſpel, they were, at the ſame time, deprived of all earthly comforts; for their lands and poſſeſſions were taken from them with the moſt odious circumſtances of cruelty and violence, and the knights and biſhops divided the ſpoil [*i*].

The Sclavonians.

V. None of the northern nations had a more rooted averſion to the Chriſtians, and a more obſtinate antipathy to their religion, than the Sclavonians, a rough and barbarous people, who inhabited the coaſt of the Baltic ſea. This excited the zeal of ſeveral neighbouring princes, and of a multitude of pious miſſionaries, who united their efforts in order to conquer the prejudices of this people, and to open their eyes upon the light of the goſpel. HENRY, duke of *Saxony*, ſurnamed the *Lion*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf, in a particular manner, by the ardour which he diſcovered in the execution of this pious deſign, as well as by the wiſe methods he employed to render it ſucceſsful.

[*b*] See HENR. LEONH. SCHURZFLEISCHII *Hiſtoria Ordinis Enſiferorum Equitum, Witteberg*, 1701, 8vo.

[*i*] See the *Origines Livoniæ ſeu Chronicon vetus Livonicum*, publiſhed in folio, at *Francfort*, in the year 1740, by Jo. DANIEL GRUBERUS, and enriched with ample and learned obſervations and notes, in which the laborious author enumerates all the writers of the Livonian hiſtory, and corrects their miſtakes.

Among

Among other measures that were proper for this purpose, he restored from their ruins, and endowed richly, three bishoprics [*k*], that had been ravaged and destroyed by these Barbarians; *to wit*, the bishoprics of *Ratzebourg* and *Schwerin*, and that of *Oldenbourg*, which was afterwards transplanted to *Lubec*. The most eminent of the Christian doctors, who attempted the conversion of the Sclavonians, was VICELINUS, a native of *Hamelen*, a man of extraordinary merit, who surpassed almost all his cotemporaries in genuine piety and solid learning, and who, after having presided many years in the society of the regular canons of *St. Augustin* at *Falderen*, was at length consecrated bishop of *Oldenbourg*. This excellent man had employed the last thirty years of his life [*l*], amidst numberless vexations, dangers, and difficulties, in instructing the Sclavonians, and exhorting them to comply with the invitations of the gospel of CHRIST; and as his pious labours were directed by true wisdom, and carried on with the most indefatigable industry and zeal, so were they attended with much fruit, even among that fierce

[*k*] ☞ Dr. MOSHEIM's account of this matter is very different from that which is given by FLEURY, who asserts, that it was HARTWICK, archbishop of *Bremen*, who restored the three ruined sees, and consecrated VICELINUS, bishop of *Oldenbourg*; and that, having done this without addressing himself to HENRY; that prince seized the tithes of VICELINUS, until a reconciliation was afterwards brought about between the offended prince and the worthy bishop. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxix. p. 665. 668. *edit. Bruxelle.* FLEURY, in this and other parts of his history, shews, that he is but indifferently acquainted with the history of *Germany*, and has not drawn from the best sources. The authorities which Dr. MOSHEIM produces for his account of the matter, are, the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. iii. p. 16. 19. 34. 55. 61. 63. 72. 82. with the celebrated *Preface* of SCHEDIUS, § xiv. p. 41.—LUDEWIG's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, tom. vi. p. 230.—JO. ERN. DE WESTPHALEN, *Monumenta inedita rerum Cimbricarum et Megapolens.* tom. ii. p. 1, 98.

[*l*] That is, from the year 1124 to the year 1154, in which he died.

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and untractable people. Nor was his miniſtry among the Sclavonians the only circumſtance that redounds to the honour of his memory; the hiſtory of his life and actions in general furniſhes proofs of his piety and zeal, ſufficient to tranſmit his name to the lateſt generations [*m*].

The judgment we ought to form of theſe converſions.

VI. It is needleſs to repeat here the obſervation we have had ſo often occaſion to make upon ſuch converſions as theſe we have been now relating, or to advertiſe the reader that the ſavage nations, who were thus 'dragooned into the church, became the diſciples of CHRIST, not ſo much in reality, as in outward appearance. [☞ They profeſſed, with an inward reluctance, a religion which was inculcated by violence and bloodſhed, which recalled to their remembrance nothing but ſcenes of deſolation and miſery, and which, indeed, when conſidered in the repreſentations that were given of it by the greateſt part of the miſſionaries, was but a few degrees removed from the abſurdities of paganiſm.] The pure and rational religion of the goſpel was never preſented to theſe unhappy nations in its native ſimplicity; they were only taught to appeaſe the Deity, and to render him propitious, by a ſenſeleſs round of trifling ceremonies and bodily exerciſes, which, in many circumſtances, reſembled the ſuperſtitions they were obliged to renounce, and might have been eaſily reconciled with them, had it not been that the name and hiſtory of CHRIST, the ſign of the croſs, and ſome diverſity between certain rites and ceremonies of the two religions,

[*m*] There is a particular and ample account of VICELINUS in the *Cimbria Literata* of MOLLERUS, tom. ii. p. 910. and in the *Hamburg.* of LAMBECIUS, lib. ii. p. 12. See alſo upon this ſubject the *Origines Neomonaſter. et Bordeſholmenſ.* of the moſt learned and induſtrious JOH. ERN. DE WESTPHALEN, which are publiſhed in the ſecond *tome* of the *Monumenta inedita Cimbrica*, p. 2344, and the *Preface* to this *tome*, p. 33. There is in this work a print of VICELINUS well engraven.

oppoſed this coalition. Beſides, the miſſionaries, whoſe zeal for impoſing the name of Chriſtians upon this people was ſo vehement and even furious, were extremely indulgent in all other reſpects, and oppoſed their prejudices and vices with much gentleneſs and forbearance. They permitted them to retain ſeveral rites and obſervances that were in direct oppoſition to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity, and to the nature of true piety. The truth of the matter ſeems to have been this, that the leading views of theſe Chriſtian heralds, and propagators of the faith, a ſmall number excepted, were rather turned towards the advancement of their own intereſts, and the confirming and extending the dominion of the Roman pontifs, than towards the true converſion of theſe ſavage Pagans, that converſion which conſiſts in the removal of ignorance, the correction of error, and the reformation of vice.

The ſtate of affairs in Tartary changes in favour of the Chriſtians.

VII. A great revolution in *Aſiatic Tartary*, which borders upon *Cathay*, changed the face of things in that diſtant region about the commencement of this century, and proved, by its effects, extremely beneficial to the Chriſtian cauſe. Towards the concluſion of the preceding century, died KOIREMCHAN, otherwiſe called KENCHAN, the moſt powerful monarch that was known in the eaſtern regions of *Aſia*; and while that mighty kingdom was deprived of its chief, it was invaded, with ſuch uncommon valour and ſucceſs, by a Neſtorian prieſt, whoſe name was JOHN, that it fell before his victorious arms, and acknowledged this warlike and enterpriſing *preſbyter* as its monarch. This was the famous PRESTER JOHN, whoſe territory was, for a long time, conſidered by the Europeans as a ſecond paradiſe, as the ſeat of opulence and complete felicity. As he was a *preſbyter* before his elevation to the royal dignity, many continued to call him *preſbyter John*, even when

CENT. XII. PART I. when he was ſeated on the throne [*n*]; but his kingly name was UNGCHAN. The high notions the

[*n*] The account I have here given of this famous *preſbyter*, commonly called PRESTER JOHN, who was, for a long time, conſidered as the greateſt and happieſt of all earthly monarchs, is what appeared to me the moſt probable among the various relations that have been given of the life and adventures of that extraordinary man. This account is moreover confirmed by the teſtimonies of cotemporary writers, whoſe knowledge and impartiality render them worthy of credit: ſuch as WILLIAM of *Tripoli* (ſee DUFRESNE's *Adnot. ad vitam Ludovici Sti. à Joinvillio ſcriptam*, p. 89.) as alſo a certain biſhop of *Gabala*, mentioned by OTTO *Friſing*, *Chronic.* lib. vii. cap. xxxiii. See alſo GUILLAUME RUBRUQUIS, *Voyage*, cap. xviii. p. 36. in the *Antiqua in Aſiam Itinera*, collected by father BERGERON, and ALBERIC *in Chronico. ad A.* 1165 & 1170, in LEIBNITII *Acceſſionibus Hiſtoricis*, tom. ii. p. 345. 355. It is indeed ſurpriſing, that ſuch authentic records as theſe ſhould have eſcaped the obſervation of the learned, and that ſo many different opinions ſhould have been advanced concerning PRESTER JOHN, and the place of his reſidence. But it is too generally the fate of learned men, to overlook thoſe accounts that carry the plaineſt marks of evidence, and, from a paſſion for the *marvellous*, to plunge into the regions of uncertainty and doubt. In the fifteenth century, JOHN II. king of *Portugal*, employed PEDRO COUVILLIANO in a laborious inquiry into the real ſituation of the kingdom of PRESTER JOHN. The curious voyager undertook this taſk, and, for information in the matter, travelled with a few companions into *Abyſſinia*; and, obſerving in the emperor of the Abyſſinians, or Ethiopians, many circumſtances that reſembled the accounts which, at that time, prevailed in *Europe* concerning PRESTER JOHN, he perſuaded himſelf that he had fulfilled his commiſſion, and found out the reſidence of that extraordinary monarch, who was the object of his reſearches. His opinion gained eaſily credit in *Europe*, which had not as yet emerged out of its ignorance and barbariſm. See MORINUS, *De ſacris Eccleſ. Ordinationibus*, part II. p. 367. But a new light was caſt upon this matter in the ſeventeenth century, by the publication of ſeveral pieces, which the induſtry of the curious drew forth from their obſcurity, and by which a great number of learned men were engaged to abandon the Portugueſe opinion, and were convinced that PRESTER JOHN reigned in *Aſia*, though they ſtill continued to diſpute about the ſituation of his kingdom, and other particular circumſtances. There are, notwithſtanding all this, ſome men of the moſt eminent learning in our times, who maintain, that JOHN was emperor of the Abyſſinians, and thus prefer the Portugueſe opinion, though deſtitute

the Greeks and Latins generally entertained of the grandeur and magnificence of this royal presbyter, were principally owing to the letters he wrote to the Roman emperor FREDERIC I., and to EMANUEL emperor of the Greeks, in which, puffed up with prosperity and flushed with success, he vaunts his victories over the neighbouring nations that disputed his passage to the throne, describes, in the most pompous and extravagant terms, the splendor of his riches, and the grandeur of his state, and the extent of his dominions, and exalts himself far above all other earthly monarchs. All this was easily believed, and the Nestorians were extremely zealous in confirming the boasts of their vainglorious prince. He was succeeded by his son, or, as others think, his brother, whose name was DAVID, though; in common discourse, he was also called PRESTER JOHN, as his predecessor had been. The reign of DAVID was far from being happy, nor did he end his days in peace; GENGHIZ KAN, the great and warlike emperor of the Tartars, invaded his territories towards the conclusion of this century, and deprived him both of his life and his dominions. CENT. XII. PART I.

VIII. The new kingdom of *Jerusalem*, which had been erected by the *holy warriors of France* towards the conclusion of the preceding century, seemed to flourish considerably at the beginning of this, and to rest upon firm and solid foundations. This prosperous scene was, however, but transitory, and was soon succeeded by the most terrible calamities and desolations. For when the The affairs of the Christians in *Palestine* in a declining state.

destitute of authentic proofs and testimonies, to the other above mentioned, though supported by the strongest evidence, and the most unquestionable authorities. See EUSEB. RENAUDOT, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 223. 337.—JOS. FRANC. LAFITAU, *Hist. des Decouvertes des Portugais.* tom. i. p. 58. & tom. iii. p. 57.—HENR. LE GRAND, *Diss. de Johanne Presbytero* in LOBE'S *Voyage de Abyssinie*, tom. i. p. 295.

Mahometans

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Mahometans ſaw vaſt numbers of thoſe that had engaged in this holy war returning into *Europe*, and the Chriſtian chiefs that remained in *Paleſtine* divided into factions, and advancing, every one, his private intereſt, without any regard to the public good, they reſumed their courage, recovered from the terror and conſternation into which they had been thrown by the amazing valour and rapid ſucceſs of the European legions, and gathering troops and ſoliciting ſuccours from all quarters, they haraſſed and exhauſted the Chriſtians by invaſions and wars without interruption. The Chriſtians, on the other hand, ſuſtained their efforts with their uſual fortitude, and maintained their ground during many years; but when ATABEC ZENGHI [o], after a long ſiege, made himſelf maſter of the city of *Edeſſa*, and threatened *Antioch* with the ſame fate, their courage began to fail, and a diffidence in their own ſtrength obliged them to turn their eyes once more towards *Europe*. They accordingly implored, in the moſt lamentable ſtrain, the aſſiſtance of the European princes; and requeſted that a new army of croſs-bearing champions might be ſent to ſupport their tottering empire in the Holy land. Their entreaties were favourably received by the Roman pontifs, who left no method of perſuaſion unemployed, that might engage the emperor and other Chriſtian princes to execute a new expedition into *Paleſtine*.

The cruſade renewed.

IX. This new expedition was not, however, reſolved upon with ſuch unanimity and precipita-

[o] *Atabeck* was a title of honour given by the *Sultans* to the viceroys or lieutenants, whom they intruſted with the government of their provinces. The Latin Authors, who have wrote the hiſtory of this holy war, and of whom BONGARSIUS has given us a complete liſt, call this *Atabeck Zenghi*, SANGUINUS. See HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Orient.* at the word ATABECK, p. 142.

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tion as the former had been; it was the ſubject of long deliberation, and its expediency was keenly debated both in the cabinets of princes, and in the aſſemblies of the clergy and the people. BERNARD, the famous abbot of *Clairval*, a man of the boldeſt reſolution and of the greateſt authority, put an end to thoſe diſputes under the pontificate of EUGENIUS III., who had been his diſciple, and who was wholly governed by his counſels. This eloquent and zealous eccleſiaſtic *preached the croſs*, i. e. the *cruſade*, in *France* and *Germany*, with great ardour and ſucceſs; and in the grand parliament aſſembled at *Vezelai*, A. D. 1146, at which LEWIS VII., king of *France*, with his queen, and a prodigious concourſe of the principal nobility were preſent, BERNARD recommended this holy expedition with ſuch a perſuaſive power, and declared with ſuch aſſurance that he had a divine commiſſion to foretel its glorious ſucceſs, that the king, the queen, and all the nobles, immediately put on the military croſs, and prepared themſelves for the voyage into *Paleſtine*. CONRAD III., emperor of *Germany*, was, for ſome time, unmoved by the exhortations of BERNARD; but he was ſoon gained over by the urgent ſolicitations of the fervent abbot, and followed, accordingly, the example of the French monarch. The two princes, each at the head of a numerous army, ſet out for *Paleſtine*, to which they were to march by different roads. But, before their arrival in the Holy land, the greateſt part of their forces were melted away, and periſhed miſerably, ſome by famine, ſome by the ſword of the Mahometans, ſome by ſhipwreck, and a conſiderable number by the perfidious cruelty of the Greeks, who looked upon the weſtern nations as more to be feared than the Mahometans themſelves. LEWIS VII. left his kingdom A. D. 1147, and, in the month of *March* of the

the following year, he arrived at *Antioch*, with the wretched remains of his army, exhausted and dejected by the hardships they had endured. CONRAD set out also in the year 1147, in the month of *May*; and, in *November* following, he arrived at *Nice*, where he joined the French army, after having lost the greatest part of his own by calamities of various kinds. From *Nice* the two princes proceeded to *Jerusalem* A. D. 1148, from whence they led back into *Europe*, the year following, the miserable handful of troops, which had survived the disasters they met with in this expedition. Such was the unhappy issue of this second *crusade*, which was rendered ineffectual by a variety of causes, but more particularly by the jealousies and divisions that reigned among the Christian chiefs in *Palestine*. Nor was it more ineffectual in *Palestine* than it was detrimental to *Europe*, by draining the wealth of its fairest provinces, and destroying such a prodigious number of its inhabitans [*p*].

The kingdom of *Jerusalem* overturned.

X. The unhappy issue of this second expedition was not however sufficient, when considered alone, to render the affairs of the Christians in *Palestine* entirely desperate. Had their chiefs and princes laid aside their animosities and contentions, and attacked the common enemy with their united force, they would have soon repaired their losses, and recovered their glory. But this was far from being the case. A fatal corruption of sentiments and manners reigned among all ranks and orders.

[*p*] Besides the historians enumerated by BONGARSIUS, see MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 399. 404. 407. 417. 451. JAC. GERVASII *Histoire de l' Abbé Suger*, tom. iii. p. 104. 128. 173. 190. 239. This was the famous SUGER, abbot of *St. Dennis*, who had seconded the exhortations of BERNARD in favour of the *crusade*, and whom LEWIS appointed regent of *France* during his absence. VERTOT, *Histoire des Chevaliers de Malta*, tom. i. p. 86. JOH. JAC. MASCOVIUS, *De rebus imperii sub Conrado* III.

Both

Both the people and their leaders, and more eſpecially the latter, abandoned themſelves without reluctance to all the exceſſes of ambition, avarice, and injuſtice; they indulged themſelves in the practice of all ſorts of vices; and by their inteſtine quarrels, jealouſies and diſcords, they weakened their efforts againſt the enemies that ſurrounded them on all ſides, and conſumed their ſtrength by thus unhappily dividing it. SALADIN, viceroy, or rather ſultan of *Egypt* and *Syria* [q], and the moſt valiant chief of whom the Mahometan annals boaſt, took advantage of theſe lamentable diviſions. He waged war againſt the Chriſtians with the utmoſt valour and ſucceſs; took priſoner GUY of LUSIGNAN, king of *Jeruſalem*, in a fatal battle fought near *Tiberias*, A. D. 1187; and, in the courſe of the ſame year, reduced *Jeruſalem* itſelf under his dominion [r]. The carnage and deſolations that accompanied this dreadful campaign, threw the affairs of the Chriſtians in the eaſt into the moſt deſperate condition, and left them no glimpſe of hope, but what aroſe from the expected ſuccours of the European princes. The ſuccours were obtained for them by the Roman pontifs with much difficulty, and in conſequence of repeated ſolicitations

☞ [q] SALADIN, ſo called by the weſtern writers, SALAH'ADDIN by the Orientals, was no longer vizir or viceroy of *Egypt*, when he undertook the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, but had uſurped the ſovereign power in that country, and had alſo added to his dominions, by right of conqueſt, ſeveral provinces of *Syria*.

[r] See the *Life of Saladin* by BOHAO'EDIN EBN SHEDDAD, an Arabian writer, whoſe hiſtory of that warlike ſultan was publiſhed at *Leyden* in the year 1732, by the late celebrated profeſſor ALBERT SCHULTENS, and accompanied with an excellent Latin tranſlation. See alſo HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Orient.* at the article SALAH'ADDIN, p. 742. and MARIGNY's *Hiſtoire des Arabes*, tom. iv. p. 289. ☞ But above all, ſee the learned *Hiſtory of the Arabians* in the *Modern Part of the Univerſal Hiſtory*.

and

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and entreaties. But the event, as we ſhall now ſee, was by no means anſwerable to the deep ſchemes that were concerted, and the pains that were employed, for the ſupport of the tottering kingdom of *Jeruſalem*.

A third cruſade undertaken.

XI. The third expedition was undertaken, A. D. 1189, by FREDERIC I., ſurnamed BARBAROSSA, emperor of *Germany*, who, with a prodigious army, marched through ſeveral Grecian provinces, where he had innumerable difficulties and obſtacles to overcome, into the *Leſſer Aſia*, from whence, after having defeated the ſultan of *Iconium*, he penetrated into *Syria*. His valour and conduct promiſed ſucceſsful and glorious campaigns to the army he commanded, when, by an unhappy accident, he loſt his life in the river *Saleph* [*s*], which runs through *Seleucia*. The manner of his death is not known with any degree of certainty; the loſs however of ſuch an able chief dejected the ſpirits of his troops, ſo that conſiderable numbers of them returned into *Europe*. Thoſe that remained continued the war under the command of FREDERIC, ſon of the deceaſed emperor; but the greateſt part of them periſhed miſerably by a peſtilential diſorder, which raged with prodigious violence in the camp, and ſwept off vaſt numbers every day. The new general died of this terrible diſeaſe, A. D. 1191; thoſe that eſcaped its fury were diſperſed, and few returned to their own country [*t*].

☞ [*s*] MAIMBOURG, in his *Hiſtoire des Cruſades*, and MARIGNI, in his *Hiſt. du* XII *Siecle*, ſay, that FREDERIC periſhed in the *Cydnus*, a river in *Cilicia*. But they are eaſily to be reconciled with our author, ſince, according to the deſcriptions given of the river *Saleph* by ſeveral learned geographers, and among others by ROGER the Annaliſt, it appears that the *Saleph* and the *Cydnus* were the ſame river under different names.

[*t*] See an ample and ſatisfactory account of this unhappy campaign in the *Life of Frederic* I. written in German by HENRY Count BUNAU, p. 278. 293. 309.

XII.

XII. The example of FREDERIC BARBAROSSA was followed, in the year 1190, by PHILIP AUGUSTUS king of *France*, and *lion-hearted* RICHARD, king of *England*. Theſe two monarchs ſet out from their reſpective dominions with a conſiderable number of ſhips of war, and tranſports [*u*], arrived in *Paleſtine* in the year 1191, each at the head of a ſeparate army, and were pretty ſucceſsful in their firſt encounters with the infidels. After the reduction of the ſtrong city of *Accâ*, or *Ptolemais*, which had been defended by the Moſlems with the moſt obſtinate valour, the French monarch returned into *Europe*, in the month of *July*, 1191, leaving, however, behind him a conſiderable part of the army which he had conducted into *Paleſtine*. After his departure, the king of *England* puſhed the war with the greateſt vigour, gave daily marks of his heroic intrepidity and military ſkill, and not only defeated SALADIN in ſeveral engagements, but alſo made himſelf maſter of *Y'affa* [*w*] and *Cæſarea*. Deſerted, however, by the French and Italians, and influenced by other motives and conſiderations of the greateſt weight, he concluded, A. D. 1192, with SALADIN, a truce of three years, three months, and as many days, and ſoon evacuated *Paleſtine* with his whole army [*x*]. Such was the iſſue of the third expedition againſt the infidels, which exhauſted *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, both of men and money, without bringing any ſolid advantage, or giving

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Its iſſue.

☞ [*u*] The learned authors of the *Modern Univerſal Hiſtory* tell us, that PHILIP arrived in *Paleſtine* with a ſupply of men, money, &c. on board *ſix ſhips*, whereas RENAUDOT mentions 100 ſail as employed in this expedition. The fleet of RICHARD conſiſted of 150 large ſhips, beſides galleys, &c.

[*w*] More commonly known by the name of *Joppa*.

[*x*] DANIEL, *Hiſtoire de France*, tom. iii. p. 426.—RAPIN THOYRAS, *Hiſtoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. See there the reign of RICHARD, *Cœur de Lion*.—MARIGNY, *Hiſtoire des Arabes*, tom. iv. p. 285.

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even a favourable turn, to the affairs of the Chriſtians in the Holy land.

Inſtitution of the military order of knighthood.

XIII. Theſe bloody wars between the Chriſtians and the Mahometans gave riſe to *three famous military orders*, whoſe office it was to deſtroy the robbers, that infeſted the public roads, to haraſs the Moſlems by perpetual inroads and warlike atchievements, to aſſiſt the poor and ſick pilgrims, whom the devotion of the times conducted to the holy ſepulchre, and to perform ſeveral other ſervices that tended to the general good [*y*]. The firſt of theſe orders was that of the *knights of St. John of Jeruſalem*, who derived their name, and particularly that of *Hoſpitallers*, from an hoſpital dedicated, in that city, to St. JOHN the *Baptiſt*, in which certain pious and charitable brethren were conſtantly employed in relieving and refreſhing with neceſſary ſupplies the indigent and diſeaſed pilgrims, who were daily arriving at *Jeruſalem*. When this city became the metropolis of a new kingdom, the revenues of the hoſpital were ſo prodigiouſly increaſed by the liberality of ſeveral princes, and the pious donations of ſuch opulent perſons as frequented the *holy places*, that they far ſurpaſſed the wants of thoſe whom they were deſigned to cheriſh and relieve. Hence it was that RAYMOND DU PUY, who was the ruler of this charitable houſe, offered to the king of *Jeruſalem* to make war upon the Mahometans at his own expence, ſeconded by his brethren, who ſerved under him in this famous hoſpital. BALDUIN II., to whom this propoſal was made, accepted it readily, and the enterpriſe was ſolemnly approved of and confirmed by the authority of the Roman pontif. Thus, all of a ſudden, the world was ſurpriſed with the ſtrange transformation of a devout fra-

[*y*] The writers, who have given the hiſtory of theſe three orders, are enumerated by Jo. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Bibliograph. Antiquar.* p. 465. but his enumeration is not complete.

ternity,

ternity, who had lived remote from the noiſe and tumult of arms in the performance of works of charity and mercy, into a valiant and hardy band of warriors. The whole order was upon this occaſion divided into three claſſes; the firſt contained the *knights*, or ſoldiers of illuſtrious birth, who were to unſheath their ſwords in the Chriſtian cauſe; in the ſecond were comprehended the *prieſts*, who were to officiate in the churches that belonged to the order; and in the third, the *ſerving brethren*, or the ſoldiers of low condition. This celebrated order gave, upon many occaſions, eminent proofs of their reſolution and valour, and acquired immenſe opulence by their heroic atchievements. When *Paleſtine* was irrecoverably loſt, the *knights* paſſed into the iſle of *Cyprus*; they afterwards made themſelves maſters of the iſle of *Rhodes*, where they maintained themſelves for a long time; but being, at length, driven thence by the Turks, they received from the emperor CHARLES V. a grant of the iſland of *Malta*, where their chief, or grand commander, ſtill reſides [z].

XIV. Another order, which was entirely of a military nature, was that of the *knights templars*, ſo called from a palace, adjoining to the temple of *Jeruſalem*, which was appropriated to their uſe for a certain time by BALDUIN II. The foundations of this order were laid at *Jeruſalem*, in the year 1118, by HUGUES DES PAYENS, GEOFFRY of St. ALDEMAR, or St. OMER, as ſome will have it, and ſeven other perſons whoſe names are unknown; but it was not before the year 1228, that it acquired a proper degree of ſtability, by be- The knights templars.

[z] The beſt and the moſt recent hiſtory of this order is that which was compoſed by VERTOT at the requeſt of the knights of *Malta*; it was firſt publiſhed at *Paris*, and afterwards at *Amſterdam*, in five volumes, 8vo. in the year 1732. See alſo HELYOT's *Hiſt. des Ordres*, tom. iii. p. 72.

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ing confirmed ſolemnly in the council of *Troyes*, and ſubjected to a rule of diſcipline drawn up by St. BERNARD [*a*]. Theſe warlike templars were to defend and ſupport the cauſe of Chriſtianity by force of arms, to have inſpection over the public roads, and to protect the pilgrims, who came to viſit *Jeruſalem*, againſt the inſults and barbarity of the Mahometans. The order flouriſhed for ſome time, and acquired, by the valour of its knights, immenſe riches and an eminent degree of military renown; but, as their proſperity increaſed, their vices were multiplied, and their arrogance, luxury, and inhuman cruelty roſe at laſt to ſuch a monſtrous height, that their privileges were revoked, and their order ſuppreſſed with the moſt terrible circumſtances of infamy and ſeverity, by a decree of the pope and of the council of *Vienne* in *Dauphiny*, as we ſhall ſee in the hiſtory of the fourteenth century [*b*].

The Teutonic order.

XV. The third order reſembled the firſt in this reſpect, that, though it was a military inſtitution, the care of the poor and the relief of the ſick were not excluded from the ſervices it preſcribed. Its members were diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Teutonic knights of St. Mary of Jeruſalem*; and as to its firſt riſe, we cannot, with any degree of certainty, trace it farther back than the year 1190, during the ſiege of *Accâ*, or *Ptolemais*, though there are Hiſtorians adventurous enough to ſeek its origin (which they place at *Jeruſalem*) in a more remote period. During the long and tedious ſiege of *Accâ*, ſeveral pious and charitable

[*a*] See MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 159.

[*b*] See MATTHEW PARIS, *Hiſtor. Major.* p. 56. for an account of the commencement of this order. See alſo PUTEAN, *Hiſtoire de l'Ordre Militaire des Templiers*, which was republiſhed, with conſiderable additions, at *Bruſſels*, in 4to. in the year 1751. NIC. GURTLERI *Hiſtoria Templariorum Militum, Amſtelodam.* 1691. in 8vo.

merchants

merchants of *Bremen* and *Lubec*, touched with compaſſion at a ſight of the miſeries that the beſiegers ſuffered in the midſt of their ſucceſs, devoted themſelves entirely to the ſervice of the ſick and wounded ſoldiers, and erected a kind of hoſpital or tent, where they gave conſtant attendance to all ſuch unhappy objects as had recourſe to their charity. This pious undertaking was ſo agreeable to the German princes, who were preſent at this terrible ſiege, that they thought proper to form a fraternity of German knights to bring it to a greater degree of perfection. Their reſolution was highly approved of by the Roman pontif CELESTINE III., who confirmed the new order by a bull iſſued out the twenty-third of February, A. D. 1192. This order was entirely appropriated to the Germans, and even of them none were admitted as members of it, but ſuch as were of an illuſtrious birth. The ſupport of Chriſtianity, the defence of the Holy land, and the relief of the poor and needy, were the important duties and ſervice to which the Teutonic knights devoted themſelves by a ſolemn vow. Auſterity and frugality where the firſt characteriſtics of this riſing order, and the equeſtrian garment [c], with bread and water, were the only rewards which the knights derived from their generous labours. But as, according to the fate of human things, proſperity engenders corruption, ſo it happened that this auſterity was of a ſhort duration, and diminiſhed in proportion as the revenues and poſſeſſions of the order augmented. The Teutonic knights, after their retreat from *Paleſtine*, made themſelves maſters of *Pruſſia*, *Livonia*, *Courland*, and *Semigallen*; but, in proceſs of time, their victorious arms received ſeveral checks, and when the light of the reformation aroſe upon *Germany*, they

[c] This garment was a white mantle with a black croſs.

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were deprived of the richeſt provinces which they poſſeſſed in that country; though they ſtill retain there a certain portion of their ancient territories [*d*].

CHAP. II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the Church during this century.

The ſtate of the church in the weſtern and northern provinces.

I. THE progreſs of Chriſtianity in the weſt had diſarmed its moſt inveterate enemies, and deprived them of the power of doing much miſchief, though they ſtill entertained the ſame averſion to the diſciples of JESUS. The Jews and Pagans were no longer able to oppoſe the propagation of the goſpel, or to oppreſs its miniſters. Their malignity remained, but their credit and authority were gone. The Jews were accuſed by the Chriſtians of various crimes, whether real or fictitious we ſhall not determine; but, inſtead of attacking their accuſers, they were ſatisfied to defend their own lives, and to ſecure their perſons, without daring to give vent to their reſentment. The ſtate of things was ſomewhat different in the Northern provinces. The Pagans were yet numerous there in ſeveral diſtricts, and wherever they were the majority, they perſecuted the Chriſtians with the utmoſt barbarity, the moſt unre-

[*d*] See RAYMUNDI DUELLII *Hiſtor. Ord. Teutonici*, publiſhed in folio at *Vienna* in 1727.—PETRI DUSBURG, *Chronicon Pruſſiæ*, publiſhed in 4to. at *Jena*, in the year 1679, by CHRISTOPH. HARTKNOCHIUS.—HEYLOT, *Hiſt. des Ordres*, tom. iii. p. 140.—*Chronicon Ordinis Teutonici* in ANTON. MATTHÆI *Analectis veteris ævi*, tom. v. p. 621. 658. ed. nov.—*Privilegia Ordinis Teutonici* in PETR. à LUDEWIG *Reliquiis Manuſcriptor.* tom. vi. p. 43.

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lenting and mercileſs fury [*e*]. It is true, the Chriſtian kings and princes, who lived in the neighbourhood of theſe perſecuting Barbarians, checked by degrees their impetuous rage, and never ceaſed to haraſs and weaken them by perpetual wars and incurſions, until, at length, they ſubdued them entirely, and deprived them, by force, both of their independency and their ſuperſtitions.

Its ſufferings in the eaſt.

II. The writers of this century complain grievouſly of the inhuman rage with which the Saracens perſecuted the Chriſtians in the eaſt, nor can we queſtion the truth of what they relate concerning this terrible perſecution. But they paſs over in ſilence the principal reaſons that inflamed the reſentment of this fierce people, and voluntarily forget that the Chriſtians were the firſt aggreſſors in this dreadful war. If we conſider the matter with impartiality and candour, the conduct of the Saracens, however barbarous it may have been, will not appear ſo ſurpriſing, particularly when we reflect on the provocations they received. In the firſt place, they had a right, by the laws of war, to repel, by force, the violent invaſion of their country, and the Chriſtians could not expect, without being chargeable with the moſt frontleſs impudence, that a people whom they attacked with a formidable army, and whom, in the fury of their miſguided zeal, they maſſacred without mercy, ſhould receive their inſults with a tame ſubmiſſion, and give up their lives and poſſeſſions without reſiſtance. It muſt alſo be confeſſed, though with ſorrow, that the Chriſtians did not content themſelves with mak-

[*e*] HELMOLD, *Chronic. Sclavor.* lib. i. cap. xxxiv. p. 88. cap. xxxv. p. 89. cap. xl. p. 99.—LINDENBROGII *Scriptor. Septentrional.* p. 195, 196. 201.—PETRI LAMBECII *Res Hamburg.* lib. i. p. 23.

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ing war upon the Mahometans in order to deliver *Jeruſalem* and the holy ſepulchre out of their hands, but carried their brutal fury to the greateſt length, diſgraced their cauſe by the moſt deteſtable crimes, filled the eaſtern provinces, through which they paſſed, with ſcenes of horror, and made the Saracens feel the terrible effects of their violence and barbarity wherever their arms were ſucceſsful. Is it then ſo ſurpriſing to ſee the infidel Saracens committing, by way of repriſal, the ſame barbarities that the holy warriors had perpetrated without the leaſt provocation? Is there any thing ſo new and ſo extraordinary in this, that a people naturally fierce, and exaſperated, moreover, by the calamities of a religious war, carried on againſt them in contradiction to all the dictates of juſtice and humanity, ſhould avenge themſelves upon the Chriſtians who reſided in *Paleſtine*, as profeſſing the religion which gave occaſion to the war, and attached, of conſequence, to the cauſe of their enemies and invaders?

Preſter John departs this life.

III. The rapid and amazing victories of the great GENGHIZKAN, emperor of the Tartars, gave an unhappy turn to the affairs of the Chriſtians in the northern parts of *Aſia*, towards the concluſion of this century. This heroic prince, who was by birth a Mogul, and whoſe military exploits raiſe him in the liſt of fame above almoſt all the commanders either of ancient or modern times, rendered his name formidable throughout all *Aſia*, whoſe moſt flouriſhing dynaſties fell ſucceſſively before his victorious arms. DAVID, or UNGCHAN, who, according to ſome, was the ſon, or, as others will have it, the brother, but who was certainly the ſucceſſor, of the famous PRESTER JOHN, and was himſelf ſo called in common diſcourſe, was the firſt victim that GENGHIZKAN

GHIZKAN ſacrificed to his boundleſs ambition. He invaded his territory, and put to flight his troops in a bloody battle, where DAVID loſt, at the ſame time, his kingdom and his life [*f*]. The princes, who governed the Turks, Indians, and the province of *Cathay*, fell, in their turn, before the victorious Tartar, and were all either put to death, or rendered tributary; nor did GENGHIZKAN ſtop here, but proceeding into *Perſia*, *India*, and *Arabia*, he overturned the Saracen dominion in thoſe regions, and ſubſtituted that of the Tartars in its place [*g*]. From this period the Chriſtian cauſe loſt much of its authority and credit in the provinces that had been ruled by PRESTER JOHN and his *ſucceſſor* DAVID, and continued to decline and loſe ground from day to day, until, at length, it ſunk entirely under the weight of oppreſſion, and was ſucceeded in ſome places by the errors of MAHOMET, and in others by the ſuperſtitions of paganiſm. We

[*f*] The Greek, Latin, and Oriental writers are far from being agreed concerning the year in which the emperor of the Tartars attacked and defeated PRESTER JOHN. The moſt of the Latin writers place this event in the year 1202, and conſequently in the XIIIth century. But MARCUS PAULUS VENETUS (in his book *De Regionibus Orientalibus*, lib. i. cap. li, lii, liii.) and other hiſtorians, whoſe accounts I have followed as the moſt probable, place the defeat of this ſecond PRESTER JOHN in the year 1187. The learned and illuſtrious DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR (in his *Præf. ad Hiſtor. imperii Ottomanici*, p. 45. tom. i. of the French edition) gives an account of this matter different from the two now mentioned, and affirms, upon the authority of the Arabian writers, that GENGHIZKAN did not invade the territories of his neighbours before the year 1214.

[*g*] See PETIT DE LA CROIX, *Hiſtoire de Genghizkan*, p. 120, 121. publiſhed in 12mo. at *Paris* in the year 1711.—HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Oriental.* at the article GENGHIZKAN, p. 378.—ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. iii. part I. p. 101, & 295.—JEAN DU PLAN CARPIN, *Voyage en Tartarie*, ch. v. in the *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, tom. vii. p. 350.

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must except, however, in this general account, the kingdom of *Tangut*, the chief residence of PRESTER JOHN, in which his posterity, who persevered in the profession of Christianity, maintained, for a long time, a certain sort of tributary dominion, which exhibited, indeed, but a faint shadow of their former grandeur [*b*].

[*b*] ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. iii. part II. p. 500.

PART

PART II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the ſtate of letters and philoſophy during this century.

The ſtate of learning among the Greeks.

I. NOTWITHSTANDING the decline of the Grecian empire, the calamities in which it was frequently involved, and the perpetual revolutions and civil wars that conſumed its ſtrength and were precipitating its ruin, the arts and ſciences ſtill flouriſhed in *Greece*, and covered with glory ſuch as cultivated them with aſſiduity and ſucceſs. This was owing, not only to the liberality of the emperors, and to the extraordinary zeal which the family of the COMNENI diſcovered for the advancement of learning, but alſo to the provident vigilance of the patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*, who took all poſſible meaſures to prevent the clergy from falling into ignorance and ſloth, leſt the Greek church ſhould thus be deprived of able champions to defend its cauſe againſt the Latins. The learned and ingenious commentaries of EUSTATHIUS, biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, upon *Homer*, and DIONYSIUS the *Geographer*, are ſufficient to ſhew the diligence and labour that were employed by men of the firſt genius in the improvement of claſſical erudition and in the ſtudy of antiquity. And if we turn our view towards the various writers who compoſed in this century the hiſtory of their own times, ſuch as CINNAMUS, GLYCAS, ZONARAS, NICEPHORUS, BRYENNIUS, and others, we ſhall find in their productions undoubted

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doubted marks of learning and genius, as well as of a laudable ambition to obtain the eſteem and approbation of future ages.

The ſtate of philoſophy.

II. Nothing could equal the zeal and enthuſiaſm with which MICHAEL ANCHIALUS, patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, encouraged the ſtudy of philoſophy by his munificence, and ſtill more by the extraordinary influence of his illuſtrious example [*a*]. It ſeems, however, to have been the Ariſtotelian philoſophy that was favoured in ſuch a diſtinguiſhed manner by this eminent prelate; and it was in the illuſtration and improvement of this profound and intricate ſyſtem that ſuch of the Greeks, as had a philoſophical turn, were principally employed, as appears evident from ſeveral remains of ancient erudition, and particularly from the commentaries of EUSTRATIUS upon the ethics and other treatiſes of the Grecian ſage. We are not, however, to imagine that the ſublime wiſdom of PLATO was neglected in this century, or that his doctrines were fallen into diſrepute. It appears, on the contrary, that they were adopted by many. Such, more eſpecially, as had imbibed the precepts and ſpirit of the Myſtics, preferred them infinitely before the Peripatetic philoſophy, which they conſidered as an endleſs ſource of ſophiſtry and preſumption, while they looked upon the Platonic ſyſtem as the philoſophy of reaſon and piety, of candour and virtue. This diverſity of ſentiments produced the famous controverſy, which was managed with ſuch vehemence and erudition among the Greeks, concerning the reſpective merit and excellence of the Peripatetic and Platonic doctrines.

The ſtate of learning among the Latins.

III. In the weſtern world, the purſuit of knowledge was now carried on with incredible emu-

[*a*] THEODORUS BALSAMON, *Præf. ad Photii Nomocanonem in* HENR. JUSTELLI *Bibliotheca juris canonici veteris*, tom. ii. p. 814.

lation

lation and ardour, and all the various branches of ſcience were ſtudied with the greateſt application and induſtry. This literary enthuſiaſm was encouraged and ſupported by the influence and liberality of certain of the European monarchs, and Roman pontifs, who perceived the happy tendency of the ſciences to ſoften the ſavage manners of uncivilized nations, and thereby to adminiſter an additional ſupport to civil government, as well as an ornament to human ſociety. Hence learned ſocieties were formed, and colleges eſtabliſhed in ſeveral places, in which the liberal arts and ſciences were publicly taught. The prodigious concourſe of ſtudents, who reſorted thither for inſtruction, occaſioned, in proceſs of time, the enlargement of theſe ſchools, which had ariſen from ſmall beginnings, and their erection into *univerſities*, as they were called, in the ſucceeding age. The principal cities of *Europe* were adorned with eſtabliſhments of this kind; but *Paris* ſurpaſſed them all in the number and variety of its ſchools, the merit and reputation of its public teachers, and the immenſe multitude of the ſtudious youth that frequented their colleges. And thus was exhibited in that famous city the model of our preſent ſchools of learning; a model indeed defective in ſeveral reſpects, but which, in after-times, was corrected and improved, and brought gradually to higher degrees of perfection [*b*]. About the ſame time the famous ſchool of *Angers*, in which the youth were inſtructed in various ſciences, and particularly and principally in the civil law, was founded by the zeal and induſtry of ULGERIUS, biſhop of

[*b*] DE BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 463.—PASQUIER, *Recherches de la France*, livr. iii. ch. xxix.—PETRI LAMBECII *Hiſtor. Biblioth. Vindebon.* lib. ii. cap. v. p. 260.—*Hiſtoire Litter. de la France*, tom. ix. p. 60--80.

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that city [*c*], and the college of *Montpelier*, where law and phyſic were taught with great ſucceſs, had already acquired a conſiderable reputation [*d*]. The ſame literary ſpirit reigned alſo in *Italy*. The academy of *Bolonia*, whoſe origin may certainly be traced higher than this century, was now in the higheſt renown, and was frequented by great numbers of ſtudents, and of ſuch more eſpecially as were deſirous of being inſtructed in the civil and canon laws. The fame of this academy was, in a great meaſure, owing to the munificence of the emperor LOTHARIUS II., who took it under his protection, and enriched it with new privileges and immunities [*e*]. In the ſame province flouriſhed alſo the celebrated ſchool of *Salernum*, where great numbers reſorted, and which was wholly ſet apart for the ſtudy of phyſic. While this zealous emulation, in advancing the cauſe of learning and philoſophy, animated ſo

[*c*] BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 215.—PASQUET-DE LA LIVONIERE, *Diſſert. ſur l'Antiquité de l'Univerſité d'Angers*, p. 21. publiſhed in 4to at *Angers*, 1736.

[*d*] *Hiſtoire Gen. de Languedoc, par les Benedictins*, tom. ii. p. 517.

[*e*] The inhabitants of *Bolonia* pretend, that their academy was founded in the fifth century by THEODOSIUS II., and they ſhew the *diploma* by which that emperor enriched their city with this valuable eſtabliſhment. But the greateſt part of thoſe writers, who have ſtudied with attention and impartiality the records of ancient times, maintain, that this diploma is a ſpurious production, and allege many weighty arguments to prove that the academy of *Bolonia* is of no older date than the eleventh century, and that in the ſucceeding age, particularly from the time of LOTHARIUS II., it received thoſe improvements that rendered it ſo famous throughout all *Europe*. See CAR. SIGONII *Hiſtoria Bononienſis*, as it is publiſhed, with learned obſervations, in the works of that excellent author. MURATORI *Antiqq. Italic. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 23. 884. 898.—JUST. HEN. BOHMERI *Præfat. ad Corpus juris ad Canon.* p. 9. as alſo the elegant *Hiſtory of the Academy of Bolonia*, written in the German language by the learned KEUFELIUS, and publiſhed at *Helmſtadt* in 8vo in the year 1750.

many

many princes and prelates, and diſcovered itſelf in the erection of ſo many academies and ſchools of learning, the Roman pontif, ALEXANDER III., was ſeized alſo with this noble enthuſiaſm. In a council held at *Rome*, A. D. 1179, he cauſed a ſolemn law to be publiſhed, for the erecting new ſchools in the monaſteries and cathedrals, and reſtoring to their primitive luſtre thoſe which, through the ſloth and ignorance of the monks and biſhops, had fallen into ruin [*f*]. But the effect which this law was intended to produce was prevented by the growing fame of the new erected academies, to which the youth reſorted from all parts, and left the *epiſcopal* and *monaſtic* ſchools entirely empty; ſo that they gradually declined, and ſunk, at laſt, into a total oblivion.

A new diviſion of ſciences.

IV. Many were the ſignal advantages that attended theſe literary eſtabliſhments; and what is particularly worthy of notice, they not only rendered knowledge more univerſal by facilitating the means of inſtruction, but were alſo the occaſion of forming a new circle of ſciences, better digeſted, and much more comprehenſive than that which had been hitherto ſtudied by the greateſt adepts in learning. The whole extent of learning and philoſophy, before this period, was confined to the *ſeven liberal arts*, as they were commonly called, of which three were known by the name of the *trivium*, which comprehended *grammar*, *rhetoric*, and *logic*; and the other four by the title of *quadrivium*, which included *arithmetic*, *muſic*, *geometry*, and *aſtronomy*. The greateſt part of the learned, as we have formerly obſerved, were ſatisfied with their literary acquiſitions, when they had made themſelves maſters of the *trivium*, while ſuch as, with an adventurous flight, aſpired after

[*f*] See B. BOHMERI *Jus Eccleſ. Proteſtant.* tom. iv. p. 705.

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the *quadrivium*, were conſidered as ſtars of the firſt magnitude, as the great luminaries of the learned world. But in this century the aſpect of letters underwent a conſiderable and an advantageous change. The number of the *liberal arts* and ſciences was augmented, and new and unfrequented paths of knowledge were opened to the emulation of the ſtudious youth. *Theology* was placed in the number of the ſciences; not that ancient theology which had no merit but its ſimplicity, and which was drawn, without the leaſt order or connexion, from divers paſſages of the holy ſcriptures, and from the opinions and inventions of the primitive doctors, but that *philoſophical* or *ſcholaſtic theology*, that with the deepeſt abſtraction traced divine truth to its firſt principles, and followed it from thence into its various connexions and branches. Nor was theology alone added to the ancient circle of ſciences; the ſtudy of the learned languages, of the civil and canon law, and of phyſic [g], were now brought into high repute. Particular academies were conſecrated to the culture of each of theſe ſciences in various places; and thus it was natural to conſider them as important branches of erudition, and an acquaintance with them as a qualification neceſſary to ſuch as aimed at univerſal learning. All this required a conſiderable change in the diviſion of the ſciences hitherto received; and this change was accordingly brought about. The ſeven *liberal arts* were, by degrees, reduced to one general title, and were comprehended under the name of philoſophy, to which *theology*, *juriſprudence*, and *phyſic*, were added. And hence the origin of the

☞ [g] The word *phyſica*, though, according to its etymology, it denotes the ſtudy of natural philoſophy in general, was, in the twelfth century, applied particularly to medicinal ſtudies, and it has alſo preſerved that limited ſenſe in the Engliſh language.

four classes of science, or, to use the academical phrase, of the four faculties, which took place in the *universities* in the following century.

The study of Roman law revived.

V. A happy and unexpected event restored in *Italy* the lustre and authority of the ancient Roman law, and, at the same time, lessened the credit of all the other systems of legislation that had been received for several ages past. This event was the discovery of the original manuscript of the famous *Pandect* of JUSTINIAN, which was found in the ruins of *Amalphi*, or *Melfi*, when that city was taken by LOTHARIUS II., in the year 1137, and of which that emperor made a present to the inhabitants of *Pisa*, whose fleet had contributed, in a particular manner, to the success of the siege. This admirable collection, which had been almost buried in oblivion, was no sooner recovered, than the Roman law became the grand object of the studies and labours of the learned. In the academy of *Bolonia*, there were particular colleges erected expressly for the study of the Roman jurisprudence; and these excellent institutions were multiplied in several parts of *Italy* in process of time, and animated other European nations to imitate so wise an example. Hence arose a great revolution in the public tribunals, and an entire change in their judicial proceedings. Hitherto different systems of law were followed in different courts, and every person of distinction, particularly among the Franks, had the liberty of choosing the body of laws that was to be the rule of his conduct. But the Roman law acquired such credit and authority, that it superseded, by degrees, all other laws in the greatest part of *Europe*, and was substituted in the place of the Salic, Lombard, and Burgundian codes, which before this period were in the highest reputation. It is an ancient opinion, that LOTHARIUS II., pursuant to the counsels and solicit-

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ations of IRNERIUS [*b*], principal profeſſor of the Roman law in the academy of *Bolonia*, publiſhed an edict enjoining the abrogation of all the ſtatutes then in force, and ſubſtituting in their place the Roman law, by which, for the future, all without exception were to modify their contracts, terminate their differences, and to regulate their actions. But this opinion, as many learned men have abundantly proved [*i*], is far from being ſupported by ſufficient evidence.

Eccleſiaſtical or canon law.

VI. No ſooner was the civil law placed in the number of the ſciences, and conſidered as an important branch of academical learning, than the Roman pontifs, and their zealous adherents, judged it not only expedient, but alſo highly neceſſary, that the *canon* law ſhould have the ſame privilege. There were not wanting before this time certain collections of the *canons* or laws of the church; but theſe collections were ſo deſtitute of order and method, and were ſo defective both in reſpect to matter and form, that they could not be conveniently explained in the ſchools, or be made uſe of as ſyſtems of eccleſiaſtical polity. Hence it was, that GRATIAN, a Benedictine monk, belonging to the convent of St. FELIX and NABOR at *Bolonia*, and by birth a Tuſcan, compoſed about the year 1130, for the uſe of the ſchools, an abridgment, or *Epitome of*

[*b*] Otherwiſe called WERNER.

[*i*] See HERM. CONRINGIUS, *De origine juris Germanici*, cap. xxii.—GUIDO GRAGDUS, *Epiſt. de Pandectis*, p. 21. 69. publiſhed at *Florence*, in 4to, in 1737.—HENRY BRENCMANN, *Hiſtoria Pandectar.* p. 41.—LUD. ANT. MURATORI *Præf. ad Leges Langobardicas, ſcriptor. rerum Italicar.* tom. i. part II. p. 4. & *Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 285. There was a warm controverſy carried on concerning this matter between GEORGE CALLIXTUS and BARTHOL. NIHUSIUS, the latter of whom embraced the vulgar opinion concerning the edict of LOTHARIUS, obtained by the ſolicitations of IRNERIUS; of this controverſy there is a circumſtantial account in the *Cimbria Literata* of MOLERUS, tom. iii. p. 142.

canon

canon law, drawn from the letters of the pontiffs, the decrees of councils, and the writings of the ancient doctors. Pope EUGENIUS III. was extremely ſatisfied with this work, which was alſo received with the higheſt applauſe by the doctors and profeſſors of *Bolonia*, and was unanimouſly adopted, as the text they were to follow in their public lectures. The profeſſors at *Paris* were the firſt that followed the example of thoſe of *Bolonia*, which, in proceſs of time, was imitated by the greateſt part of the European colleges. But, notwithſtanding the encomiums beſtowed upon this performance, which was commonly called the *decretal of* GRATIAN [*k*], and was entitled by the author himſelf, the *re-union or coalition of the jarring canons* [*l*], ſeveral moſt learned and eminent writers of the Romiſh communion acknowledge, that it is full of errors and defects of various kinds [*m*]. As, however, the main deſign of this abridgment of the canons was to ſupport the deſpotiſm, and to extend the authority of the Roman pontifs, its innumerable defects were overlooked, its merits were exaggerated; and, what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, it enjoys at this day, in an age of light and liberty, that high degree of veneration and authority, which was inconſiderately, though more excuſably, laviſhed upon it in an age of tyranny, ſuperſtition, and darkneſs [*n*].

VII.

[*k*] *Decretum* GRATIANI.

[*l*] *Concordia Diſcordantium Canonum.*

[*m*] See, among others, ANTON. AUGUSTINUS, *De Emendatione* GRATIANI, publiſhed in 8vo. at *Arnhem*, A. D. 1673, with the learned obſervations of STEPH. BALUZIUS and GER. a MASTRICHT.

[*n*] See GERHARD. a MASTRICHT, *Hiſtoria juris Eccleſaſtici*, § 293. p. 325.—B. JUST. HEN. BOHMERI *Jus. Eccleſ. Proteſtant.* tom. i. p. 100. and more particularly the learned *Preface*, with which this laſt-mentioned author enriched the new edition of the *Canon Law*, publiſhed at *Hal*, in 4to, in the year 1747. See alſo ALEX. MACHIAVELLI *Obſervationes ad Sigonii Hiſtor.*

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The ſtate of philoſophy among the Latins.

VII. Such among the Latins as were ambitious of making a figure in the republic of letters, applied themſelves, with the utmoſt zeal and diligence, to the ſtudy of philoſophy. Philoſophy, taken in its moſt extenſive and general meaning, comprehended, according to the method which was the moſt univerſally received towards the middle of this century, four claſſes; it was divided into *theoretical*, *practical*, *mechanical*, and *logical*. The firſt claſs comprehended *natural theology*, *mathematics*, and *natural philoſophy*. In the ſecond claſs were ranked *ethics*, *œconomics*, and *politics*. The third contained the ſeven arts that are more immediately ſubſervient to the purpoſes of life, ſuch as *navigation*, *agriculture*, *hunting*, &c. The fourth was divided into *grammar* and *compoſition*, the latter of which was farther ſubdivided into *rhetoric*, *dialectic*, and *ſophiſtry*; and under the term *dialectic* was comprehended that part of *metaphyſic* which treats of *general notions*. This diviſion was almoſt univerſally adopted. Some, indeed, were for ſeparating *grammar* and *mechanics* from *philoſophy*; a ſeparation highly condemned by others, who, under the general term philoſophy, comprehended the whole circle of the ſciences [*o*].

Hiſtor. Bononienſem, tom. iii. *Oper. Sigonii*, p. 128. This writer has drawn from the *Kalendarium Archigymnaſii Bononienſis*, ſeveral particularities concerning GRATIAN and his work, which were generally unknown, but whoſe truth is alſo much diſputed. What increaſes the ſuſpicion of their being fabulous is, that this famous *Kalendar*, of which the Bolonians boaſt ſo much, and which they have ſo often promiſed to publiſh in order to diſpel the doubts of the learned, has never as yet ſeen the light. Beſides, in the fragments that have appeared, there are manifeſt marks of unfair dealing.

[*o*] Theſe literary anecdotes I have taken from ſeveral writers, particularly from HUGO a St. VICTOR, *Didaſcali Libro* ii. cap. ii. p. 7. tom. i. opp. and from the *Metalogicum* of JOHN of *Saliſbury*.

VIII.

Diſſenſions among the philoſophers.

VIII. The learned, who treated theſe different branches of ſcience, were divided into various factions, which attacked each other with the utmoſt animoſity and bitterneſs [*p*]. There were, at this time, *three* methods of teaching philoſophy that were practiſed by different doctors. The *firſt* was, the *ancient* and *plain* method, which confined its reſearches to the philoſophical notions of PORPHYRY, and the *dialectic* ſyſtem, commonly attributed to St. AUGUSTINE, and in which was laid down this general rule, that philoſophical inquiries were to be limited to a ſmall number of ſubjects, leſt, by their becoming too extenſive, religion might ſuffer by a profane mixture of human ſubtilty with its divine wiſdom. The *ſecond* method was called the *Ariſtotelian*, becauſe it conſiſted in explications of the works of that philoſopher [*q*], ſeveral of whoſe books, being tranſlated into Latin, were now almoſt every where in the hands of the learned. Theſe tranſlations were, indeed, extremely obſcure and incorrect, and led thoſe who made uſe of them in their academical lectures, into various blunders, and often into notions, which were not more

[*p*] See GODOF. de St. VICTOR. *Carmen de Sectis Philoſoph.* publiſhed by LE BOEUF, in his *Diſſ. ſur l'Hiſtoire Eccleſiaſt. et Civile de Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 254.—BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 562.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiq. Oxonienſ.* tom. i. p. 51.—Jo. SARISBURIENSIS *Metalog. et Policrat.* paſſim.

[*q*] ROB. DE MONTE, *Append. ad Sigebertum Gemblacenſ.* publiſhed by LUC. DACHERIUS, among the works of GUIBERT, abbot of *Nogent, ad A.* 1128, p. 753. *Jacobus Clericus de Venecia tranſtulit de Græco in Latinum quoſdam libros Ariſtotelis et commentatus eſt, ſcilicet Topica, Annal. priores et poſteriores et elenchos. Quamvis antiquior tranſlatio ſuper eoſdem libros haberetur.* THOM. BECKET, *Epiſtolar.* lib. ii. ep. xciii. p. 454. edit. *Bruxell.* 1682, in 4to. *Itero preces, quatenus libros Ariſtotelis, quos habetis, mihi faciatis exſcribi . . . Precor etiam iterata ſupplicatione quatenus in operibus Ariſtotelis, ubi difficiliora fuerint, notulas faciatis, eo quod interpretem aliquatenus ſuſpectum habeo, quia licet eloquens fuerit alias, ut ſæpe audivi, minus tamen fuit in grammatica inſtitutus.*

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absurd than whimsical and singular. The *third* was termed the *free method*, employed by such as were bold enough to search after truth, in the manner they thought the most adapted to render their inquiries successful, and who followed the bent of their own genius, without rejecting, however, the succours of ARISTOTLE and PLATO. Laudable as this method was, it became an abundant source of sophistry and chicane, by the imprudent management of those that employed it; for these subtle doctors, through a wanton indulgence of their metaphysical fancies, did little more than puzzle their disciples with vain questions, and fatigue them with endless distinctions and divisions [*r*]. These different systems, and vehement contests that divided the philosophers, gave many persons a disgust against philosophy in general, and made them desire, with impatience, its banishment from the public schools.

The contests of the Dialecticians, Realists, and Nominalists described.

IX. Of all the controversies that divided the philosophers in this century, there were none carried on with greater animosity, and treated with greater subtilty and refinement, than the contests of the *Dialectics* concerning *universals*. These sophistical doctors were wholly occupied about the intricate questions relating to *genus* and *species*, to the solution of which they directed all their philosophical efforts, and the whole course of their metaphysical studies; but not all in the same method, nor upon the same principles [*s*]. The two leading sects into which they had been

[*r*] See JO. SARISBURIENSIS *Policrat.* p. 434. *et Metalog.* p. 814, &c.

[*s*] JOHN of *Salisbury*, a very elegant and ingenious writer of this age, censures, with a good deal of wit, the crude and unintelligible speculations of these sophists, in his book entitled, *Policraticon seu de Nugis Curialium*, lib. vii. p. 451. He observes, that there had been more time consumed in resolving the question relating

been divided long before this period, and which were diſtinguiſhed by the titles of *Realiſts* and *Nominaliſts*, not only ſubſiſted ſtill, but were moreover ſubdivided, each into ſmaller parties and factions, according as the two oppoſite and leading ſchemes were modified by new fancies and inventions. The *Nominaliſts*, though they had their followers, were nevertheleſs much inferior to the *Realiſts* both with reſpect to the number of their diſciples, and to the credit and reputation of their doctrine. A third ſect aroſe under the name of *Formaliſts*, who pretended to terminate the controverſy, by ſteering a middle courſe between the two jarring ſyſtems now mentioned; but, as the hypotheſis of theſe new doctors was moſt obſcure and unintelligible, they only perplexed matters more than they had hitherto been, and furniſhed new ſubjects of contention and diſpute [*t*.]

Thoſe

relating to *genus* and *ſpecies*, than the *Cæſars* had employed in making themſelves maſters of the whole world; that the riches of CROESUS were inferior to the treaſures that had been exhauſted in this controverſy; and that the contending parties, after having ſpent their whole lives upon this ſingle point, had neither been ſo happy as to determine it to their ſatisfaction, nor to make, in the labyrinths of ſcience where they had been groping, any diſcovery that was worth the pains they had taken. His words are: *Veterem paratus eſt ſolvere quæſtionem de generibus et ſpeciebus* (he ſpeaks here of a certain philoſopher) *in qua laborans mundus jam ſenuit, in qua plus temporis conſumptum eſt, quam in acquirendo et regendo orbis imperio conſumpſerit Cæſarea domus: plus effuſum pecuniæ, quam in omnibus divitiis ſuis poſſederit Cræſus. Hæc enim tam diu multos tenuit, ut cum hoc unum tota vita quærerent, tandem nec iſtud, nec aliud invenirent.*

[*t*] See the above-cited author's *Policrat.* lib. vii. p. 451. where he gives a ſuccinct account of the *Formaliſts*, *Realiſts*, and *Nominaliſts* in the following words: *Sunt qui more mathematicorum* FORMAS *abſtrahunt, et ad illas quicquid de univerſalibus dicitur referunt.* Such were the Formaliſts, who applied the doctrine of univerſal ideas to what the mathematicians call *abſtract forms*. *Alii diſcutiunt* INTELLECTUS *et eos univerſalium nominibus cenſeri confirmant.* Here we find the *Realiſts* pointed out, who,

Thoſe among the learned, who turned their purſuits to more intereſting and beneficial branches of ſcience, than the intricate and puzzling doctrine of *univerſals*, travelled into the different countries, where the kinds of knowledge they were bent upon cultivating, flouriſhed moſt. The ſtudents of phyſic, aſtronomy, and mathematics, continued to frequent the ſchools of the Saracens in *Spain*. Many of the learned productions of the Arabians were alſo tranſlated into Latin [*u*]; for the high eſteem in which the erudition

who, under the name of *univerſals*, comprehended all intellectual powers, qualities, and ideas. *Fuerunt et qui* VOCES *ipſas genera dicerent et ſpecies: ſed eorum jam exploſa ſententia eſt et facile cum autore ſuo evanuit. Sunt tamen adhuc, qui deprehenduntur in veſtigiis eorum, licet erubeſcant vel auctorem vel ſcientiam profiteri,* SOLIS NOMINIBUS, *inhærentes, quod rebus et intellectibus ſubtrahunt,* SERMONIBUS *aſcribunt.* This was a ſect of the *Nominaliſts*, who, athamed (as this author alleges) to profeſs the exploded doctrine of ROSCELLINUS, which placed *genus* and *ſpecies* in the claſs of *mere words*, or *ſimple denominations*, modified that ſyſtem by a ſlight change of expreſſion only, which did not eſſentially diſtinguiſh their doctrine from that of the ordinary *Nominaliſts*. It appears from all this, that the ſect of the *Formaliſts* is of more ancient date than JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, whom many learned men conſider as its founder. See Jo. SARISBUR. *Metalogic.* lib. ii. cap. xvii. p. 814. where that eminent author deſcribes at large the various conteſts of theſe three ſects, and ſums up their differences in the following words: *Alius conſiſtit in vocibus, licet hæc opinio cum Roſcellino ſuo fere jam evanuerit: alius ſermones intuetur: alius verſatur in intellectibus*, &c.

[*u*] GERHARD of *Cremona*, who was ſo famous among the Italians for his eminent ſkill in aſtronomy and phyſic, undertook a voyage to *Toledo*, where he tranſlated into Latin ſeveral Arabian treatiſes; ſee MURATORI *Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 936, 937.—MIRMET, a French monk, travelled into *Spain* and *Africa*, to learn geography among the Saracens. See LUC. DACHERII *Spicilegium vet. ſcriptor.* tom. ix. p. 443. ed. *Antiq.*—DANIEL MORLACH, an Engliſhman, who was extremely fond of mathematical learning, went a journey to *Toledo*, from whence he brought into his own country a conſiderable number of Arabian books; ANT. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 55.—PETER, abbot of *Clugni*, ſurnamed the *Venerable*, after

dition of that people was held, together with a desire of converting the Spaniſh Saracens to Chriſtianity, had excited many to ſtudy their language, and to acquire a conſiderable knowledge of their doctrine. CENT. XII. PART II.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the doctors and miniſters of the church, and its form of government, during this century.

I. WHEREVER we turn our eyes among the various ranks and orders of the clergy, we perceive, in this century, the moſt flagrant marks of licentiouſneſs and fraud, ignorance and luxury, and other vices, whoſe pernicious effects were deeply felt both in church and ſtate. If we except a very ſmall number, who retained a ſenſe of the ſanctity of their vocation, and lamented the corruption and degeneracy of their order, it may be ſaid, with reſpect to the reſt, that their whole buſineſs was to ſatisfy their luſts, to multiply their privileges by graſping perpetually at new honours and diſtinctions, to increaſe their opulence, to diminiſh the authority, and to encroach upon the privileges of princes and magiſtrates, and, neglecting entirely the intereſts of religion and the cure of ſouls, to The lives and manners of the clergy.

after having ſojourned for ſome time among the Spaniards, in order to make himſelf maſter of the Arabian language, tranſlated into Latin, the *Alcoran*, and the *Life of Mahomet*; ſee MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. lib. lxxvii. 345. This eminent eccleſiaſtic, as appears from the *Bibliotheca Cluniacenſis*, p. 1169. found, upon his arrival in *Spain*, perſons of learning from *England* and other nations, who applied themſelves with extraordinary aſſiduity and ardour to the ſtudy of aſtrology. We might multiply the examples of thoſe who travelled in queſt of ſcience during this century; but thoſe now alleged are ſufficient for our purpoſe.

live

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live in eaſe and pleaſure, and draw out their days in an unmanly and luxurious indolence. This appears manifeſtly from two remarkable treatiſes of St. BERNARD, in one of which he expoſes the corruption of the pontifs and biſhops [*w*], while he deſcribes in the other the enormous crimes of the monaſtic orders, whoſe licentiouſneſs he chaſtiſes with a juſt ſeverity [*x*].

The pontifs' ambitious to extend their authority.

II. The Roman pontifs, who were placed ſucceſſively at the head of the church, governed that ſpiritual and myſtical body by the maxims of worldly ambition, and thereby fomented the warm conteſt that had already ariſen between the imperial and ſacerdotal powers. On the one hand, the popes not only maintained the opulence and authority they had already acquired, but extended their views farther, and laboured ſtrenuouſly to enlarge both, though they had not all equal ſucceſs in this ambitious attempt. The European emperors and princes, on the other hand, alarmed at the ſtrides which the pontifs were making to univerſal dominion, uſed their utmoſt efforts to diſconcert their meaſures, and to check their growing opulence and power. Theſe violent diſſenſions between the *empire* and the *prieſthood* (for ſo the contending parties were ſtyled in this century) were moſt unhappy in their effects, which were felt throughout all the European provinces. PASCAL II., who had been raiſed to the pontificate about the concluſion of the preceding age, ſeemed now to ſit firm and ſecure in the apoſtolic chair, without the leaſt apprehen-

[*w*] In the work entitled, *Conſiderationum Libri* v. *ad Eugenium Pontificem.*

[*x*] See his defence of the cruſades, under the title of *Apologia ad Gulielmum Abbatem*; as alſo GERHOHUS, *De corrupto Eccleſiæ Statu*, in BALUZII *Miſcell.* tom. v. p. 63.—*Gallia Chriſtiana*, tom. i. p. 6. *App.* tom. ii. p. 265. 273, &c. BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Academ. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 490. 690.

ſion

sion from the imperial faction, whose affairs had taken an unfavourable turn, and who had not the courage to elect a new pope of their party in the place of GUIBERT, who died in the year 1100 [y].

The dispute concerning investitures is fomented anew.

PASCAL, therefore, unwilling to let pass unimproved the present success of the papal faction, renewed, in a council assembled at *Rome*, A. D. 1102, the decrees of his predecessors against *investitures*, and the excommunications they had thundered out against HENRY IV., and used his most vigorous endeavours to raise up on all sides new enemies to that unfortunate emperor. HENRY, however, opposed, with great constancy and resolution, the efforts of this violent pontif, and eluded with much dexterity and vigilance his perfidious stratagems. But his heart, wounded in the tenderest part, lost all its firmness and courage, when, in the year 1106, an unnatural son, under the impious pretext of religion, took up arms against his person and his cause. HENRY V., so was this monster afterwards named, seized his father in a most treacherous manner, and obliged him to abdicate the empire; after which the unhappy prince retired to *Liege*, where, deserted by all his adherents, he departed this life, and so got rid of his misery, in the year 1106. It has been a matter of dispute, whether it was the instigation of the pontif, or the ambitious and impatient thirst after dominion, that engaged HENRY V. to declare war against his father; nor is it, perhaps, easy to decide this question with a

☞ [y] Dr. MOSHEIM's affirmation here must be somewhat modified in order to be true: it is certain, that, after the death of GUIBERT, the imperial party chose in his place a person named ALBERT, who, indeed, was seized the day of his election, and cast into prison. THEODORIC and MAGNULF were successively chosen after ALBERT, but could not support for any time their claim to the pontificate. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxv. vol. xiv. p. 10. *Brussels* edition in 8vo.

perfect

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perfect degree of evidence. One thing, however, is unqueſtionably certain, and that is, that PASCAL II. diſſolved, or rather impiouſly pretended to diſſolve, the oath of fidelity and obedience that HENRY had taken to his father; and not only ſo, but adopted the cauſe and ſupported the intereſts of this unnatural rebel with the utmoſt zeal, aſſiduity, and fervour [z].

The progreſs of this debate.

III. The revolution that this odious rebellion cauſed in the empire, was, however, much leſs favourable to the views of PASCAL than that lordly pontif expected. HENRY V. could by no means be perſuaded to renounce his right of *inveſting* the biſhops and abbots, though he was willing to grant the right of election to the *canons* and *monks*, as was uſual before his time. Upon this the exaſperated pontif renewed, in the councils of *Guaſtalla* and *Troyers*, the decrees that had ſo often been iſſued out againſt *inveſtitures*, and the flame broke out with new force. It was, indeed, ſuſpended during a few years, by the wars in which HENRY V. was engaged, and which prevented his bringing the matter to an iſſue. But no ſooner had he made peace with his enemies, and compoſed the tumults that troubled the tranquillity of the empire, than he ſet out for *Italy* with a formidable army, A. D. 1110, in order to put an end to this long and unhappy conteſt. He advanced towards *Rome* by ſlow marches, while the trembling pontif, ſeeing himſelf deſtitute of all ſuccour, and reduced to the loweſt and moſt defenceleſs condition, propoſed to him the following conditions of peace: That he, on the one hand, ſhould renounce the right

[z] Theſe accounts are drawn from the moſt authentic ſources, and alſo from the eminent writers, whoſe authority I made uſe of, and whoſe names I mentioned, in that part of the preceding century that correſponds with the ſubject here treated.

of

of *inveſting* with the *ring* and *croſier*; and that the biſhops and abbots ſhould, on the other hand, reſign and give over to the emperor all the grants they had received from CHARLEMAGNE, of thoſe rights and privileges that belong to royalty, ſuch as the power of raiſing tribute, coining money, and poſſeſſing independent lands and territories, with other immunities of a like nature. Theſe conditions were agreeable to HENRY, who accordingly gave a formal conſent to them in the year 1111; but they were extremely diſpleaſing to the Italian and German biſhops, who expreſſed their diſſent in the ſtrongeſt terms. Hence a terrible tumult aroſe in the church of St. PETER, where the contending parties were aſſembled with their reſpective followers; upon which HENRY ordered the pope to be ſeized, and to be confined in the caſtle of *Viterbo*. After having lain there for ſome time, the captive pontif was engaged, by the unhappy circumſtances of his preſent condition, to enter into a new convention, by which he ſolemnly receded from the article of the former treaty that regarded *inveſtitures*, and confirmed to the emperor the privilege of inaugurating the biſhops and abbots with the *ring* and *croſier*. Thus was the peace concluded, in conſequence of which the vanquiſhed pontif arrayed HENRY with the imperial diadem [*a*].

Paſcal breaks this convention, and dies.

IV. This tranſitory peace, which was the fruit of violence and neceſſity, was followed by greater tumults and more dreadful wars, than had yet afflicted the church. Immediately after the concluſion of this treaty, *Rome* was filled with the moſt vehement commotions, and a univerſal cry,

[*a*] Beſides the writers already mentioned, ſee MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. p. 681. and tom. vi. p. 1. at the particular years to which the events here taken notice of belong.

was

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was raiſed againſt the pontif, who was accuſed of having violated, in a ſcandalous manner, the duties and dignity of his ſtation, and of having proſtituted the majeſty of the church by his ignominious compliance with the demands of the emperor. To appeaſe theſe commotions, PASCAL aſſembled, in the year 1112, a council in the church of *Lateran*, and there not only confeſſed, with the deepeſt contrition and humility, the fault he had committed in concluding ſuch a convention with the emperor, but ſubmitted moreover the deciſion of that matter to the determination of the council, who accordingly took that treaty into conſideration, and ſolemnly annulled it [*b*]. This ſtep was followed by many events that gave, for a long time, an unfavourable turn to the affairs of the emperor. He was excommunicated in many ſynods and councils both in *France* and *Germany*; nay, he was placed in the black liſt of *heretics*, a denomination, which expoſed him to the greateſt dangers in theſe ſuperſtitious and barbarous times [*c*]; and, to complete his anxiety, he ſaw the German princes revolting from his authority in ſeveral places, and taking up arms in the cauſe of the church. To put an end to the calamities that thus afflicted the empire on all ſides, HENRY ſet out a ſecond time for *Italy*, with a numerous army, in the year 1116, and arrived the year following at *Rome*, where he aſſembled the conſuls, ſenators, and nobles, while the fugitive pontif retired to *Benevento*.

[*b*] PASCAL, upon this occaſion, as GREGORY VII. had formerly done in the caſe of BERENGER, ſubmitted his proceedings and his authority to the judgment of a council, to which, of conſequence, he acknowledged his ſubordination. Nay, ſtill more, that council condemned his meaſures, and declared them ſcandalous.

[*c*] See GERVAISE, *Diſſ. ſur l'Hereſie des inveſtitures*, which is the *fourth* of the *Diſſertations* which he has prefixed to his *Hiſtory of the Abbot Suger*.

PASCAL,

PASCAL, however, during this forced abſence, engaged the Normans to come to his aſſiſtance, and, encouraged by the proſpect of immediate ſuccour, prepared every thing for a vigorous war againſt the emperor, and attempted to make himſelf maſter of *Rome*. But in the midſt of theſe warlike preparations, which drew the attention of *Europe*, and portended great and remarkable events, the military pontif yielded to fate, and concluded his days, A. D. 1118.

V. A few days after the death of PASCAL, JOHN of *Gaieta*, a Benedictine monk of *Montcaſſin*, and chancellor of the Roman church, was raiſed to the pontificate under the title of GELASIUS II. In oppoſition to this choice, HENRY elected to the ſame dignity MAURICE BURDIN, archbiſhop of *Braga* in *Spain* [*d*], who aſſumed the denomination of GREGORY VIII. [*e*]. Upon this, GELASIUS, not thinking himſelf ſafe at *Rome*, nor indeed in *Italy*, ſet out for *France*, and in a little time after died at *Clugni*. The *Cardinals*, who accompanied him in his journey, elected to the papacy, immediately after his departure, GUY archbiſhop of *Vienne*, count of *Burgundy*, who was nearly related to the emperor, and is diſtinguiſhed in the liſt of the Roman pontifs by the name of CALLIXTUS II. The elevation of this eminent eccleſiaſtic was, in the iſſue, extremely happy both for church and ſtate. Remarkably diſtinguiſhed by his illuſtrious birth, and ſtill more by his noble and heroic qualities, this magnanimous pontif continued to oppoſe the em-

☞ [*d*] *Braga* was the metropolis of ancient *Galicia*, but at preſent is one of the three archbiſhoprics of *Portugal*, in the province of *Entre Duero è Migno*. The archbiſhop of that ſee claims the title of primate of *Spain*, which is annexed in *Spain* to the ſee of *Toledo*.

[*e*] See STEPHANI BALUZII *Vita Mauritii Burdini Miſcellaneor.* tom. iii. p. 471.

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peror with courage and ſucceſs, and to carry on the war both with the ſword of the ſpirit, and with the arm of fleſh. He made himſelf maſter of *Rome*, threw into priſon the pontif that had been choſen by the emperor, and fomented the civil commotions in *Germany*. But his fortitude and reſolution were tempered with moderation, and accompanied with a ſpirit of generoſity and compliance, which differed much from the obſtinate arrogance of his lordly predeceſſors. Accordingly, he lent an ear to pacific counſels, and was willing to relinquiſh a part of the demands upon which the former pontifs had ſo vehemently inſiſted, that he might reſtore the public tranquillity, and ſatisfy the ardent deſires of ſo many nations, who groaned under the diſmal effects of theſe deplorable diviſions [*f*].

It will appear unqueſtionably evident to every attentive and impartial obſerver of things, that the illiberal and brutiſh manners of thoſe who ruled the church were the only reaſon that rendered the diſpute concerning *inveſtitures* ſo violent and cruel, ſo tedious in its duration, and ſo unhappy in its effects. During the ſpace of five-and-fifty years, the church was governed by monks, who, to the obſcurity of their birth, the aſperity of their natural temper, and the unbounded rapacity of their ambition and avarice, joined that inflexible obſtinacy which is one of the eſſential characteriſtics of the monaſtic order. Hence thoſe bitter feuds, thoſe furious efforts of ambition and vengeance, that diſhonoured the church and afflicted the ſtate during the courſe of this controverſy. But as ſoon as the papal chair was filled by a man of an ingenuous turn, and of a liberal education, the face of things changed en-

☞ [*f*] The paragraph following is the note [*t*], of the original placed in the text.

tirely, and a proſpect of peace aroſe to the deſires and hopes of ruined and deſolate countries.

VI. Theſe hopes were not diſappointed; for, after much conteſtation, peace was, at length, concluded between the emperor and the pope's legates, at a general diet held at *Worms*, A.D. 1122. The conditions were as follow:

Peace is concluded between the pope and the emperor upon certain conditions.

"That for the future the biſhops and abbots "ſhall be choſen by thoſe to whom the right of "election belongs [*g*]; but that this election "ſhall be made in preſence of the emperor, or "of an ambaſſador appointed by him for that "purpoſe [*h*]:

"That, in caſe a diſpute ariſe among the elec- "tors, the deciſion of it ſhall be left to the em- "peror, who is to conſult with the biſhops upon "that occaſion:

"That the biſhop or abbot elect ſhall take "an oath of allegiance to the emperor, receive "from his hand the *regalia*, and do homage for "them:

"That the emperor ſhall no more confer the "*regalia* by the ceremony of the *ring* and *croſier*, "which are the enſigns of a ghoſtly dignity, but "by that of the *ſceptre*, which is more proper to "inveſt the perſon elected in the poſſeſſion of "rights and privileges merely temporal [*i*]."

This convention was ſolemnly confirmed the year following in the general council of Lateran,

☞ [*g*] The expreſſion is ambiguous; but it ſignifies that the election of biſhops and abbots was to be made by monks and canons as in former times.

[*h*] From this period the people in *Germany* were excluded from the right of voting in the election of biſhops. See PETR. DE MARCA, *De concordia ſacerdotii et imperii*, lib. vi. cap. ii. § 9. p. 783. edit. *Bohmeri*.

[*i*] See MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi. p. 76.—SCHILTERUS, *De Libertate Eccl. Germanicæ*, lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 545.—CÆSAR RASPONUS, *De Baſilica Lateranenſi*, lib. iv. p. 295.

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and remains ſtill in force in our times; though the true ſenſe of ſome of its articles has occaſioned diſputes between the emperors and pontifs, [k].

Two popes raiſed at the ſame time to the pontificate.

VII. CALLIXTUS did not long enjoy the fruits of this peace, to which he had ſo much contributed by his prudence and moderation. He departed this life in the year 1124, and was ſucceeded by LAMBERT, biſhop of *Oſtia*, who aſſumed the title of HONORIUS II., and under whoſe pontificate nothing worthy of mention was tranſacted. His death, which happened A. D. 1130, gave riſe to a conſiderable ſchiſm in the church of *Rome*, or rather in the college of cardinals, of whom one party elected to the papal chair, GREGORY, a cardinal deacon of *St. Angelo*, who was diſtinguiſhed by the name of INNOCENT II., while the other choſe for ſucceſſor to HONORIUS, PETER, the ſon of LEO, a Roman prince, under the title of ANACLETUS II. The party of INNOCENT was far from being numerous in *Rome*, or throughout *Italy* in general, for which reaſon he judged it expedient to retire into *France*, where he had many adherents, and where he ſojourned during the ſpace of two years. His credit was very great out of *Italy*; for, beſides the emperor LOTHARIUS, the kings of *England*, *France*, and *Spain*, with other princes, eſpouſed warmly the cauſe of INNOCENT, and that principally by the influence of St. BERNARD, who was his intimate friend, and whoſe counſels had the force and authority of laws in almoſt all the countries of *Europe*. The patrons of ANACLETUS were fewer in number, and were confined to the kings of *Sicily* and *Scotland*; his death, however, which happened A. D. 1138, terminated the conteſt, and left INNOCENT in the

[k] It was diſputed among other things, whether the conſecration of the biſhop elect was to precede or follow the collation of the regalia? See JO. WILH. HOFFMAN. *ad concordatum Henrici* V. *et Calliſti* II., *Vitemberg.* 1739, in 4to.

entire

entire and undiſputed poſſeſſion of the apoſtolic chair. The ſurviving pontif preſided, in the year 1139, at the ſecond council of Lateran, and about four years after ended his days in peace [*l*].

VIII. After the death of INNOCENT, the Roman ſee was filled by GUY, cardinal of *St. Mark*, who ruled the church about five months, under the title of CELESTINE II. If his reign was ſhort, it was however peaceable, and not like that of his ſucceſſor LUCIUS II., whoſe pontificate was diſturbed by various tumults and ſeditions, and who, about eleven months after his elevation to the papacy, was killed in a riot which he was endeavouring to ſuppreſs by his preſence and authority. He was ſucceeded by BERNARD, a Ciſtertian monk, and an eminent diſciple of the famous St. BERNARD, abbot of *Clairval*. This worthy eccleſiaſtic, who is diſtinguiſhed among the popes by the title of EUGENIUS III., was raiſed to that high dignity in the year 1145, and, during the ſpace of nine years, was involved in the ſame perils and perplexities that had embittered the ghoſtly reign of his predeceſſor. He was often obliged to leave *Rome*, and to ſave himſelf by flight from the fury of the people [*m*]; and the ſame reaſon engaged him to retire into *France*, where he ſojourned for a conſiderable

Succeſſion of the pontifs, from the death of Innocent to the end of this century.

[*l*] Beſides the ordinary writers of the papal hiſtory, ſee JEAN DE LANNES, *Hiſtoire du pontificat du Pape Innocent* II., *Pariſ.* 1741, in 8vo.

☞ [*m*] There was a party formed in *Rome* at this time, whoſe deſign was to reſtore the Roman ſenate to its former privileges and to its ancient ſplendor and glory; and, for this purpoſe, to reduce the papal revenues and prerogatives to a narrower compaſs, even to the tithes and oblations that were offered to the primitive biſhops, and to the ſpiritual government of the church, attended with an utter excluſion from all civil juriſdiction over the city of *Rome*. It was this party that produced the feuds and ſeditions to which Dr. MOSHEIM has an eye in this eighth ſection.

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time. At length, exhauſted by the oppoſition he met with in ſuppoting what he looked upon as the prerogatives of the papacy, he departed this life in the year 1153. The pontificate of his ſucceſſor CONRAD, biſhop of *Sabino*, who, after his elevation to the ſee of *Rome*, aſſumed the title of ANASTASIUS IV., was leſs diſturbed by civil commotions, but it was alſo of a very ſhort duration; for ANASTASIUS died about a year and four months after his election.

The conteſt between the emperors and popes is renewed under Frederic Barbaroſſa and Adrian IV.

IX. The warm conteſt between the emperors and the popes, which was conſidered as at an end ever ſince the time of CALLIXTUS II., was unhappily renewed under the pontificate of ADRIAN IV., who was a native of *England*, and whoſe original name was NICOLAS BREAKSPEAR. FREDERIC I., ſurnamed *Barbaroſſa*, was no ſooner ſeated on the imperial throne, than he publicly declared his reſolution to maintain the dignity and privileges of the Roman empire in general, and more particularly to render it reſpectable in *Italy*; nor was he at all ſtudious to conceal the deſign he had formed of reducing the overgrown power and opulence of the pontifs and clergy within narrower limits. ADRIAN perceived the danger that threatened the majeſty of the church, and the authority of the clergy, and prepared himſelf for defending both with vigour and conſtancy. The firſt occaſion of trying their ſtrength was offered at the coronation of the emperor at *Rome*, in the year 1155, when the pontif inſiſted upon FREDERIC's performing the office of equerry, and holding the ſtirrup to his Holineſs. This humbling propoſal was at firſt rejected with diſdain by the emperor, and was followed by other conteſts of a more momentous nature relating to the political intereſts of the empire. Theſe differences were no ſooner reconciled than new diſputes equally important aroſe in the year 1158,

1158, when the emperor, in order to put a ſtop to the enormous opulence of the pontifs, biſhops, and monks, which increaſed from day to day, enacted a law to prevent the transferring of *fiefs*, without the knowledge or conſent of the ſuperior or lord in whoſe name they were held [*n*], and turned the whole force of his arms to reduce the little republics of *Italy* under his dominion. An open rupture between the emperor and the pontif was expected as the inevitable conſequence of ſuch vigorous meaſures, when the death of ADRIAN, which happened on the firſt of *September*, A. D. 1159, ſuſpended the ſtorm [*o*].

A diſpute ariſes in the election of a new pontif.

X. In the election of a new pontif, the cardinals were divided into two factions. The moſt numerous and powerful of the two raiſed to the pontificate ROLAND, biſhop of *Sienna*, who aſſumed the name of ALEXANDER III., while the oppoſite party elected to that high dignity OCTAVIAN, cardinal of *St. Cecilia*, known by the title of VICTOR IV. The latter was patroniſed by the emperor, to whom ALEXANDER was extremely diſagreeable on ſeveral accounts. The council of *Pavia*, which was aſſembled by the emperor in the year 1160, adopted his ſentiments, and pronounced in favour of VICTOR, who became thereby triumphant in *Germany* and *Italy*; ſo that *France* alone was left open to ALEXANDER, who accordingly left *Rome*, and fled thither for ſafety

[*n*] This prohibition of transferring the poſſeſſion of *fiefs*, from one to another, without the conſent of the ſupreme lord, or ſovereign, under whom they were held, together with other laws of a like nature, was the firſt effectual barrier that was oppoſed to the enormous and growing opulence and authority of the clergy. See MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi. p. 239.

[*o*] See the accurate and circumſtantial account of this whole affair that is given by the illuſtrious and learned Count BUNAU, in his *Hiſtory of Frederic* I., wrote in German, p. 45. 49. 73. 99. 105, &c.

and protection. Amidſt the tumults and commotions which this ſchiſm occaſioned, VICTOR died at *Lucca* in the year 1164, but his place was immediately filled by the emperor, at whoſe deſire GUY, cardinal of *St. Calixtus*, was elected pontif under the title of PASCAL III., and acknowledged in that character by the German princes aſſembled in the year 1167, at the diet of *Wurtzbourg*. In the mean time ALEXANDER recovered his ſpirits, and returning into *Italy* maintained his cauſe with uncommon reſolution and vigour, and not without ſome promiſing hopes of ſucceſs. He held at *Rome*, in the year 1167, the council of Lateran, in which he ſolemnly depoſed the emperor (whom he had, upon ſeveral occaſions before this period, loaded publicly with anathemas and execrations), diſſolved the oath of allegiance which his ſubjects had taken to him as their lawful ſovereign, and encouraged and exhorted them to rebel againſt his authority, and to ſhake off his yoke. But, ſoon after this audacious proceeding, the emperor made himſelf maſter of *Rome*, upon which the inſolent pontif fled to *Benevento*, and left the apoſtolic chair to PASCAL, his competitor.

XI. The affairs of ALEXANDER ſeemed to take ſoon after a more proſperous turn, when the greateſt part of the imperial army being conſumed by a peſtilential diſorder, the emperor was forced to abandon *Italy*, and when the death of PASCAL, which happened in the year 1168, delivered him from ſuch a powerful and formidable rival. But this fair proſpect ſoon vaniſhed. For the imperial faction elected to the pontificate JOHN, abbot of *Strum*, under the title of CALLIXTUS III., whom FREDERIC, notwithſtanding his abſence in *Germany*, and the various wars and diſputes in which he was involved, ſupported to the utmoſt of his power. When peace was, in a good meaſure, reſtored to the empire, FREDERIC marched

marched into *Italy*, A. D. 1174, with a deſign to chaſtiſe the perfidy of the ſtates and cities that had revolted during his abſence, and ſeized the firſt favourable opportunity of throwing off his yoke. Had this expedition been crowned with the expected ſucceſs, ALEXANDER would, undoubtedly, have been obliged to deſiſt from his pretenſions, and to yield the papal chair to CALLIXTUS. But the event came far ſhort of the hopes which this grand expedition had excited, and the emperor, after having, during the ſpace of three years, been alternately defeated and victorious, was, at length, ſo fatigued with the hardſhips he had ſuffered, and ſo dejected at a view of the difficulties he had yet to overcome, that, in the year 1177, he concluded a treaty of peace at *Venice* with ALEXANDER III., and a truce with the reſt of his enemies [*p*]. Certain writers affirm, that, upon this occaſion, the haughty pontif trod upon the neck of the ſuppliant emperor, while he kiſſed his foot, repeating at the ſame time thoſe words of the royal Pſalmiſt: *Thou ſhalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon ſhalt thou trample under feet* [*q*]. The greateſt part, however, of modern authors have called this event in queſtion, and conſider it as utterly deſtitute of authority and unworthy of credit [*r*].

XII.

[*p*] All the circumſtances of theſe conventions are accurately related by the above-mentioned Count BUNAU, in his *Hiſtory of Frederic* I. p. 115—242.—See alſo FORTUNATI OLMI *Iſtoria della Venuta à Venetia occultamente nel A.* 1177. *di Papa Aleſſandro* III. *Venet.* 1629, in 4to.—MURATORI *Antiq. Italicæ medii ævi*, tom. iv. p. 2. 9.—*Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. ii. p. 379.—*Ad Sanctorum*, tom. i. *April.* p. 46. *in Vita Hugonis, abbatis Bonæ vallis, &* tom. ii. *April. in Vita Galdini Mediolanenſis*, p. 596. two famous eccleſiaſtics, who were employed as ambaſſadors and arbiters in the treaty of peace here mentioned.

[*q*] Pſalm xci. 13.

[*r*] See BUNAU's *Life of Frederic* I., p. 242.—HEUMANNI *Pœciles*, tom. iii. lib. i. p. 145.—*Bibliotheque Italique*, tom. vi. p. 5.

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XII. ALEXANDER III., who was rendered ſo famous by his long and ſucceſsful conteſt with FREDERIC I., was alſo engaged in a warm diſpute with HENRY II., king of *England*, which was occaſioned by the arrogance of THOMAS BECKET, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. In the council of *Clarendon*, which was held in the year 1164, ſeveral laws were enacted, by which the king's power and juriſdiction over the clergy were accurately explained, and the rights and privileges of the biſhops and prieſts reduced within narrower bounds [*s*]. BECKET refuſed obedience to theſe laws,

A miſunderſtanding ariſes between Alexander III., and Henry II., king of *England*.

p. 5. as alſo the authors mentioned by CASPAR. SAGITTARIUS, in his *Introduct. in Hiſtor. Eccleſ.* tom. i. p. 630. tom. ii. p. 600.

[*s*] See MATTH. PARIS, *Hiſtor. Major.* p. 82, 83. 101. 114.—DAV. WILKINS, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ*, tom. i. p. 434.

☞ HENRY II. had formed the wiſe project of bringing the clergy under the juriſdiction of the civil courts, on account of the ſcandalous abuſe they had made of their immunities, and the crimes which the eccleſiaſtical tribunals let paſs with impunity. The *Conſtitutions of Clarendon*, which conſiſted of ſixteen articles, were drawn up for this purpoſe: and as they are proper to give the reader a juſt idea of the prerogatives and privileges that were claimed equally by the king and the clergy, and that occaſioned of conſequence ſuch warm debates between ſtate and church, it will not be altogether uſeleſs to tranſcribe them here at length.

I. When any difference relating to the right of patronage ariſes between the laity, or between the *clergy* and *laity*, the controverſy is to be tried and ended in the *King's Court*.

II. Thoſe churches which are *fees* of the crown cannot be granted away in perpetuity without the king's conſent.

III. When the *clergy* are charged with any miſdemeanor, and ſummoned by the juſticiary, they ſhall be obliged to make their appearance in his court, and plead to ſuch parts of the indictment as ſhall be put to them; and likewiſe to anſwer ſuch articles in the Eccleſiaſtical Court as they ſhall be proſecuted for by that juriſdiction: always provided, that the king's juſticiary ſhall ſend an officer to inſpect the proceedings of the Court Chriſtian. And in caſe any *clerk* is convicted, or pleads guilty, he is to forfeit the privilege of his character, and to be protected by the church no longer.

IV.

laws, which he looked upon as prejudicial to the *divine* rights of the church in general, and to the prerogatives

IV. No archbiſhops, biſhops, or parſons, are allowed to depart the kingdom, without a licence from the crown; and, provided they have leave to travel, they ſhall give ſecurity, not to act or ſolicit any thing during their paſſage, ſtay, or return, to the prejudice of the king, or kingdom.

V. When any of the laity are proſecuted, in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, the charge ought to be proved before the biſhop by legal and reputable witneſſes: and the courſe of the proceſs is to be ſo managed, that the archdeacon may not loſe any part of his right, or the profits accruing to his office: and, if any offenders appear ſkreened from proſecution upon the ſcore either of favour or quality, the ſheriff, at the biſhop's inſtance, ſhall order twelve ſufficient men of the neighbourhood to make oath before the biſhop, that they will diſcover the truth according to the beſt of their knowledge.

VI. Excommunicated perſons ſhall not be obliged to make oath, or give ſecurity to continue upon the place where they live: but only to abide by the judgment of the church in order to their abſolution.

VII. No perſon that *holds in chief of the king*, or any of his barons, ſhall be excommunicated, or any of their eſtates put under an *interdict*, before application made to the king, provided he is in the kingdom; and, in caſe his highneſs be out of *England*, then the juſticiary muſt be acquainted with the diſpute, in order to make ſatisfaction: and thus what belongs to the cognizance of the King's Court, muſt be tried there; and that which belongs to the Court Chriſtian, muſt be remitted to that juriſdiction.

VIII. In caſe of appeals in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, the firſt ſtep is to be made from the archdeacon to the biſhop: and from the biſhop to the archbiſhop: and, if the archbiſhop fails to do juſtice, a farther recourſe may be had to the king, by whoſe order the controverſy is to be finally decided in the archbiſhop's Court. Neither ſhall it be lawful for either of the parties to move for any farther remedy without leave from the crown.

IX. If a difference happens to ariſe between any clergyman and layman concerning any tenement; and that the clerk pretends it held by *frank almoine* *, and the layman pleads it a *lay-fee*; in this caſe, the tenure ſhall be tried by the inquiry and verdict of twelve ſufficient men of the neighbourhood, ſummoned according to the cuſtom of the realm. And, if the tenement or thing in controverſy ſhall be found *frank-almoine*, the diſpute concerning it ſhall be tried in the Eccleſiaſtical Court. But, if

* *i. e.* A tenure by divine ſervice, as *Britton* explains it.

it

prerogatives of the Roman pontifs in particular. Upon this there arose a violent debate between the

it is brought in a *lay-fee*, the ſuit ſhall be followed in the King's Courts, unleſs both the plaintiff and defendant hold the tenement in queſtion of the ſame biſhop; in which caſe, the cauſe ſhall be tried in the court of ſuch biſhop or baron, with this farther proviſo, that he who is ſeized of the thing in controverſy, ſhall not be diſſeized, hanging the ſuit (i. e. *during the ſuit, pendente lite*) upon the ſcore of the verdict above mentioned.

X. He who holds of the king in any city, caſtle, or borough, or reſides upon any of the demeſne-lands of the crown, in caſe he is cited by the archdeacon or biſhop to anſwer any miſbehaviour belonging to their cognizance; if he refuſes to obey their ſummons, and ſtand to the ſentence of the court, it ſhall be lawful for the ordinary to put him under an interdict, but not to excommunicate him, till the king's principal officer of the town ſhall be pre-acquainted with the caſe, in order to enjoin him to make ſatisfaction to the church. And if ſuch officer or magiſtrate ſhall fail in his duty, he ſhall be fined by the king's judges. And then the biſhop may exert his diſcipline on the refractory perſon as he thinks fit.

XI. All archbiſhops, biſhops, and eccleſiaſtical perſons, who hold of the king in chief, and the tenure of a barony, are for that reaſon obliged to appear before the king's juſtices and miniſters, to anſwer the duties of their tenure, and to obſerve all the uſages and cuſtoms of the realm; and, like other barons, are bound to be preſent at trials in the King's Court, till ſentence is to be pronounced for the loſing of life or limbs.

XII. When any archbiſhoprick, biſhoprick, abbey, or priory or royal foundation, becomes vacant, the king is to make ſeizure: from which time all the profits and iſſues are to be paid into the Exchequer, as if they were the demeſne-lands of the crown. And when it is determined the vacancy ſhall be filled up, the king is to ſummon the moſt conſiderable perſons of the chapter to Court, and the election is to be made in the chapel royal, with the conſent of our ſovereign lord the king, and by the advice of ſuch perſons of the government, as his highneſs ſhall think fit to make uſe of. At which time, the perſon elected, before his conſecration, ſhall be obliged to do homage and fealty to the king, as his liege lord; which homage ſhall be performed in the uſual form, with a clauſe for the ſaving the privilege of his order.

XIII. If any of the temporal barons, or great men, ſhall encroach upon the rights or property of any archbiſhop, biſhop, or archdeacon, and refuſe to make ſatisfaction for wrong done by themſelves, or their tenants, the king ſhall do juſtice to the party aggrieved. And, if any perſon ſhall diſſeize the king of any

the reſolute monarch and the rebellious prelate, which obliged the latter to retire into *France*, where ALEXANDER III. was at that time in a kind of exile. This pontif and the king of *France* interpoſed their good offices in order to compoſe theſe differences, in which they ſucceeded ſo far, after much trouble and difficulty, as to encourage BECKET to return into *England*, where he was re-inſtated in his forfeited dignity. But the generous and indulgent proceedings of his ſovereign towards him, were not ſufficient to conquer his arrogant and rebellious obſtinacy in maintaining, what he called, the privileges of the church, nor could he be induced by any means to comply with the views and meaſures of HENRY.

any part of his lands, or treſpaſs upon his prerogative, the archbiſhops, biſhops, and deacons ſhall call him to an account, and oblige him to make the crown reſtitution; i. e. *They were to excommunicate ſuch diſſeizers and injurious perſons in caſe they proved refractory and incorrigible.*

XIV. The goods and chattels of thoſe who lie under forfeitures of felony or treaſon are not to be detained in any church or church-yard, to ſecure them againſt ſeizure and juſtice; becauſe ſuch goods are the king's property, whether they are lodged within the precincts of a church or without it.

XV. All actions, and pleas of debts, though never ſo ſolemn in the circumſtances of the contract, ſhall be tried in the King's Courts.

XVI. The ſons of copy-holders are not to be ordained without the conſent of the lord of the manor where they were born.

Such were the articles of the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, againſt the greateſt part of which the pope proteſted. They were ſigned by the Engliſh clergy and alſo by BECKET. The latter, however, repented of what he had done, and, retiring from court, ſuſpended himſelf from his office in the church for about forty days, till he received abſolution from ALEXANDER III., who was then at *Sens*. His averſion to theſe articles manifeſted itſelf by an open rebellion againſt his ſovereign, in which he diſcovered his true character, as a moſt daring, turbulent, vindictive, and arrogant prieſt, whoſe miniſtry was ſolely employed in extending the deſpotic dominion of *Rome*, and whoſe fixed purpoſe was to aggrandize the church upon the ruins of the ſtate. See COLLIER'S *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, vol. i. XII century. RAPIN THOYRAS, in the reign of HENRY II.

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The conſequences of this inflexible reſiſtance were fatal to the haughty prelate, for he was, ſoon after his return into *England*, aſſaſſinated before the altar, while he was at veſpers in his cathedral, by four perſons, who certainly did not commit this act of violence without the king's knowledge and connivance [*t*]. This event produced warm

☞ [*t*] This aſſertion is, in our opinion, by much too ſtrong. It can only be founded upon certain indiſcreet and paſſionate expreſſions, which the intolerable inſolence and frenetic obſtinacy of BECKET drew from HENRY in an unguarded moment, when, after having received new affronts, notwithſtanding the reconciliation he had effected with ſo much trouble and condeſcenſion, he expreſſed himſelf to this purpoſe: *Am I not unhappy, that, among the numbers, who are attached to my intereſts, and employed in my ſervice, there is none poſſeſſed of ſpirit enough to reſent the affronts which I am conſtantly receiving from a miſerable prieſt?* Theſe words, indeed, were not pronounced in vain. Four gentlemen of the court, whoſe names were *Fitz-Urſe*, *Tracy*, *Britton*, and *Morville*, murdered BECKET in his chapel, and thus performed, in a licentious and criminal manner, an action which the laws might have commanded with juſtice. But it is extremely remarkable, that, after the murder, the aſſaſſins were afraid they had gone too far, and durſt not return to the king's court, which was then in *Normandy*; but retired, at firſt, to *Knareſborough* in *Yorkſhire*, which belonged to *Morville*, from whence they repaired to *Rome* for abſolution, and being admitted to penance by ALEXANDER III., were ſent, by the orders of that pontif, to *Jeruſalem*, and paſſed the remainder of their lives upon the *Black Mountain* in the ſevereſt acts of auſterity and mortification. All this does not look as if the king had been deliberately concerned in this murder, or had expreſsly conſented to it. On the contrary, various circumſtances concur to prove that HENRY was entirely innocent of this murder. Mr. HUME mentions particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, ſuſpecting the deſign of the four gentlemen above mentioned, by ſome menacing expreſſions they had dropt, "diſpatched (ſays Mr. HUME) a meſſenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing againſt the perſon of the primate. "But theſe orders came too late." See his *Hiſtory of England*, vol. i. p. 294. RAPIN THOYRAS, *Hiſtory of England*; COLLIER's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of England*, vol. i. p. 370. The authors which Dr. MOSHEIM refers to for an account of this matter are as follow: GUILIEL. STEPHANIDÆ, *Hiſtoria Thomæ Cantuarienſis* in SPARKS *Scriptores rerum Anglicarum*, publiſhed

warm debates between the king of *England* and the Roman pontif, who gained his point ſo far as to make the ſuppliant monarch undergo a ſevere courſe of penance, in order to expiate a crime of which he was conſidered as the principal promoter, while the murdered prelate was ſolemnly enrolled in the higheſt rank of ſaints and martyrs in the year 1173 [*u*].

Alexander III. contributes by prudent counſels to confirm the privileges of the church, and to extend the papal authority.

XIII. It was not only by force of arms, but alſo by uninterrupted efforts of dexterity and artifice, by wiſe councils and prudent laws, that ALEXANDER III. maintained the pretended rights of the church, and extended the authority of the Roman pontifs. For, in the third council of the Lateran, held at *Rome*, A. D. 1179, the following decrees, among many others upon different ſubjects, were paſſed by his advice and authority: *1ſt*, That in order to put an end to the confuſion and diſſenſions which ſo often accompanied the election of the Roman pontifs, the right of election ſhould not only be veſted in the *cardinals* alone, but alſo that the perſon, in whoſe favour two-thirds of the college of cardinals voted, ſhould be conſidered as the lawful and duly elected pontif. This law is ſtill in force; it was therefore from the time of ALEXANDER that the election of the pope acquired that form which it ſtill retains, and by which not only the people, but alſo the Roman clergy, are excluded entirely from all ſhare in the honour of conferring that

publiſhed in folio at *London* in the year 1723.—CHRISP. LUPI *Epiſtolæ et vita Thomæ Cantuar.*—*Epiſtolæ Alexandri* III., *Ludovici* VII., *Henrici* II., *in hac cauſa ex MSS. Vaticano, Bruxelles* 1682, 2 vol. 4to.—NATALIS ALEXANDER, *Select. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Capitib. Sæc.* xii. *Diſſ.* x. p. 833.—THOMÆ STAPLETONI *Tres Thomæ, ſeu res geſtæ Thomæ Apoſtoli, S. Thomæ Cantuarienſis, et Thomæ Mori, Colon.* 1612, in 8vo.

[*u*] BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Academ. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 328. et *De Die Feſto ejus*, p. 397. DOM. COLONIA, *Hiſtoire Litteraire de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 249.

important

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important dignity. 2*dly*, A ſpiritual war was declared againſt Heretics, whoſe numbers increaſing conſiderably about this time, created much diſturbance in the church in general, and infeſted, in a more particular manner, ſeveral provinces in *France*, which groaned under the fatal diſſenſions that accompanied the propagation of their errors [*w*]. 3*dly*, The right of recommending and nominating to the ſaintly order was alſo taken away from councils and biſhops, and *canonization* was ranked among the *greater and more important cauſes*, the cognizance of which belonged to the pontif alone [*x*]. To all this we muſt not forget to add, that the power of erecting new kingdoms, which had been claimed by the pontifs from the time of GREGORY VII., was not only aſſumed, but alſo exerciſed by ALEXANDER in a remarkable inſtance; for, in the year 1179, he conferred the title of king, with the enſigns of royalty, upon ALPHONSO I., duke of *Portugal*, who, under the pontificate of LUCIUS II., had rendered his province tributary to the Roman ſee [*y*].

[*w*] See NATALIS ALEXANDER, *Seleƈt. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Capit. Sæc.* xii. *Diſſ.* ix. p. 819. where he treats particularly concerning this council.—See alſo tom. vi. part II. *Conciliorum* HARDUINI, p. 1671.

☞ Dr. MOSHEIM, as alſo SPANHEIM and FLEURY, call this the 3d council of Lateran, whereas other hiſtorians mention eight preceding councils held in the Lateran, *viz.* Thoſe of the years 649, 864, 1105, 1112, 1116, 1123, 1139, 1167. Our author has alſo attributed to this council of 1179, decrees that probably belong to a later period.

[*x*] See what has been obſerved already, under the xth century, concerning the election of the popes, and the *canonization* of ſaints.

[*y*] BARONIUS, *Annal. ad A.* 1179.—INNOCENTII III. *Epiſtolæ Lib.* ep. xlix. p. 54. tom. i. ed. *Baluzian.*

☞ ALPHONSO had been declared, by his victorious army, king of *Portugal*, in the year 1136, in the midſt of the glorious exploits he had performed in the war againſt the *Moors*; ſo that ALEXANDER III. did no more than confirm this title by an arrogant bull, in which he treats that excellent prince as his vaſſal.

His ſucceſſors.

XIV. Upon the death of ALEXANDER, UBALD, biſhop of *Oſtia*, otherwiſe known by the name of LUCIUS III., was raiſed to the pontificate, A. D. 1181, by the ſuffrages of the cardinals alone, in conſequence of the law mentioned in the preceding ſection. The adminiſtration of this new pontif was embittered by violent tumults and ſeditions; for he was twice driven out of the city by the Romans, who could not bear a pope that was elected in oppoſition to the ancient cuſtom, without the knowledge and conſent of the clergy and the people. In the midſt of theſe troubles he died at *Verona* in the year 1185, and was ſucceeded by HUBERT CRIVELLI, biſhop of *Milan*, who aſſumed the title of URBAN III., and without having tranſacted any thing worthy of mention during his ſhort pontificate, died of grief in the year 1187, upon hearing that SALADIN had made himſelf maſter of *Jeruſalem*. The pontificate of his ſucceſſor ALBERT [z], whoſe papal denomination was GREGORY VIII., exhibited ſtill a more ſtriking inſtance of the fragility of human grandeur; for this pontif yielded to fate about two months after his elevation. He was ſucceeded by PAUL, biſhop of *Preneſte*, who filled the papal chair above three years under the title of CLEMENT III., and departed this life, A. D. 1191, without having diſtinguiſhed his ghoſtly reign by any memorable atchievement, if we except his zeal for draining *Europe* of its treaſures and inhabitants by the publication of new *cruſades*. CELESTINE III. [a] makes a more ſhining figure in hiſtory than the pontifs we have been now mentioning; for he thundered his excommunications againſt the emperor HENRY VI., and LEOPOLD,

[z] This prelate, before his elevation to the papacy, was biſhop of *Benevento*, and chancellor of the Roman church.

[a] Whoſe name was HYACINTH, a native of *Rome*, and a cardinal deacon.

duke

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duke of *Austria*, on account of their having seized and imprisoned RICHARD I., king of *England*, as he was returning from the Holy Land; he also subjected to the same malediction ALPHONSO X. king of *Gallicia* and *Leon*, on account of an incestuous marriage into which that prince had entered, and commanded PHILIP AUGUSTUS, king of *France*, to re-admit to the conjugal state and honours INGELBURG his queen, whom he had divorced for reasons unknown; though this order, indeed, produced but little effect [*b*]. But the most illustrious and resolute pontif, that filled the papal chair during this century, and whose exploits made the greatest noise in *Europe*, was LOTHARIUS, count of *Segni*, cardinal deacon, otherwise known by the name of INNOCENT III. The arduous undertakings and bold atchievements of this eminent pontif, who was placed at the head of the church in the year 1198, belong to the history of the following century.

A view of the other ecclesiastical orders, and their vices.

XV. If, from the series of pontifs that ruled the church in this century, we descend to the other ecclesiastical orders, such as the bishops, priests, and deacons, the most disagreeable objects will be exhibited to our view. The unanimous voice of the historians of this age, as well as the laws and decrees of synods and councils, declare loudly the gross ignorance, the odious frauds, and the flagitious crimes, that reigned among the different ranks and orders of the clergy now mentioned. It is not therefore at all surprising, that the monks, whose rules of discipline obliged them to a regular method of living, and placed them out of the way of many temptations to licentiousness, and occasions of sinning to which the episcopal

☞ [*b*] It was in consequence of the vigorous and terrible proceedings of INNOCENT III., that the re-union between PHILIP and INGELBURG was accomplished. See *L'Histoire de France, par l'Abbé* VELLY, tom. iii. p. 367, 368, 369.

and

and ſacerdotal orders were expoſed, were held in higher eſteem than they were. The reign of corruption became, however, ſo general, that it reached at laſt even the convents; and the monks, who were gaining with the moſt ardent efforts the ſummit of eccleſiaſtical power and authority, and who beheld both the *ſecular clerks* and the *regular canons* with averſion and contempt [*c*], began, in many places, to degenerate from that ſanctity of manners, and that exact obedience to their rules of diſcipline, by which they had been formerly diſtinguiſhed, and to exhibit to the people ſcandalous examples of immorality and vice [*d*]. The Benedictines of *Clugni*, who undoubtedly ſurpaſſed, in regularity of conduct and purity of manners, all the monaſtic orders who lived under their rule, maintained their integrity for a long time, amidſt the general decay of piety and virtue. They were, however, at length carried away with the torrent; ſeduced by the example of their abbot PONTIUS, and corrupted by the treaſures that were poured daily into their convent by the liberality of the opulent and pious, they fell from their primitive auſterity, and, following the diſſolute examples of the other Benedictines, they *gave themſelves up to pleaſure, and dwelt careleſsly* [*e*]. Several of the ſucceeding abbots endeavoured to remedy this diſorder, and

[*c*] See RUPERTI *Epiſtola* in MARTENE *Theſaur. Anecd.* tom. i. p. 285. This writer prefers the monks before the apoſtles.

[*d*] See BERNARD. *Conſideration. ad Eugenium*, lib. iii. cap. iv.—See alſo the *Speculum Stultorum*, or *Brunellus*, a Poem, compoſed by NIGEL WIREKER, an Engliſh bard of no mean reputation, who lived about the middle of the XIIth century. In this Poem, of which ſeveral editions have been publiſhed, the different orders of monks are ſeverely cenſured; the Carthuſians alone have eſcaped the keen and virulent ſatire of this witty writer.

[*e*] ISAIAH, xlvii. 8.

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to recover the declining reputation of their convent; but their efforts were much leſs ſucceſsful than they expected, nor could the monks of *Clugni* ever be brought back to their primitive ſanctity and virtue [*f*].

The proſperous ſtate of the Ciſtertian Order.

XVI. The *Ciſtertian Order*, which was much inferior to the monks of *Clugni*, both with reſpect to the antiquity of their inſtitution, and the poſſeſſions and revenues of their convent, ſurpaſſed them far in the external regularity of their lives and manners, and in a certain ſtriking air of innocence and ſanctity, which they ſtill retained, and which the others had almoſt entirely loſt. Hence they acquired that high degree of reputation and authority, which the order of *Clugni* had formerly enjoyed, and increaſed daily in number, credit, and opulence. The famous St. BERNARD, abbot of *Clairval*, whoſe influence throughout all *Europe* was incredible, whoſe word was a law, and whoſe counſels were regarded by kings and princes as ſo many orders to which the moſt reſpectful obedience was due; this eminent eccleſiaſtic was the perſon who contributed moſt to enrich and aggrandize the Ciſtertian Order. Hence he is juſtly conſidered as the ſecond parent and founder of that Order; and hence the Ciſtertians, not only in *France*, but alſo in *Germany* and other countries, were diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Bernardin monks* [*g*]. A hundred and ſixty religious communities derive their origin, or their rules of diſcipline, from this illuſtrious abbot, and he left, at his death, ſeven hundred monks in the monaſtery of *Clairval*. The church

[*f*] See MARTENE, *Ampliſſima Collectio Monumentor. Veter.* tom. ix. p. 1119.

[*g*] See Jo. MABILLON, *Annal. Ordin. Benedict.* tom. vi. paſſim, *in vita St. Bernardi*, which he has prefixed to his edition of the works of that ſaint.—See alſo ANGELI MANRIQUEZ, *Annales Ciſtercienſes*, tom. ii. and iii.

abounded with biſhops and archbiſhops that had been formed and prepared for the miniſtry by his inſtructions, and he counted alſo, among the number of his diſciples, EUGENIUS III., one of the beſt and wiſeſt of the Roman pontifs.

Jealouſies ariſe between the Ciſtertians and the monks of *Clugni*.

XVII. The growing proſperity of the *Ciſtertian Order* excited the envy and jealouſy of the monks of *Clugni*, and, after ſeveral diſſenſions of leſs conſequence, produced at length an open rupture, a declared war between theſe two opulent and powerful monaſteries. They both followed the rule of St. BENEDICT, though they differed in their habit, and in certain laws, which the Ciſtertians more eſpecially, had added to that rule. The monks of *Clugni* accuſed the *Ciſtertians* of affecting an extravagant auſterity in their manners and diſcipline; while the *Ciſtertians*, on the other hand, charged them, and that upon very good grounds, with having degenerated from their former ſanctity, and regularity of conduct. St. BERNARD, who was the oracle and protector of the Ciſtertians, wrote, in the year 1127, an *Apology* for his own conduct in relation to the diviſion that ſubſiſted between the two convents, and inveighed with a juſt, though decent, ſeverity againſt the vices that corrupted the monks of *Clugni* [*b*]. This charge was anſwered, though with

☞ [*b*] This apology, as it is called, of St. BERNARD is well worth the attention of the curious reader, as it exhibits a true and lively picture of monaſtic opulence and luxury, and ſhews how the religious orders in general lived in this century. The famous abbot, in this performance, accuſes the monks of *Clugni* of luxury and intemperance at their table, of ſuperfluity and magnificence in their dreſs, their bed-chambers, their furniture, equipage, and buildings. He points out the pride and vanity of the abbots, who looked much more like the governors of provinces, than the ſpiritual fathers of humble and holy communities, whoſe original profeſſion it was, to be crucified and dead to the intereſts and pleaſures, the pomps and vanities of a preſent world. He declares, with a pious concern, that he

with uncommon moderation and candour, by PETER MAURICIUS, abbot of *Clugni*; and hence it occaſioned a controverſy in form, which ſpread from day to day its baneful influence, and excited diſturbances in ſeveral provinces of *Europe* [*i*]. It was, however, followed with a much more vehement and bitter conteſt concerning an exemption from the payment of tythes, granted among other privileges and immunities to the Ciſtertians, A. D. 1132, by INNOCENT II. A conſiderable part of the lands which the Ciſtertians poſſeſſed, and to which the pontif granted this exemption, were ſubject to the monks of *Clugni*, who ſuffered conſequently by this act of liberality, and diſputed the matter, not only with the Ciſtertians, but with the pope himſelf. This keen diſpute was, in ſome meaſure, terminated in the year 1155, but in what manner, or upon what conditions, is more than is come to our knowledge [*k*].

Lives and manners of the canons.

XIII. The *regular canons*, who were erected into a fixed and permanent order in the preceding century, employed their time in a much more uſeful and exemplary manner than the monaſtic

knew ſeveral abbots, each of whom had more than ſixty horſes in his ſtable, and ſuch a prodigious variety of wines in his cellar, that it was ſcarcely poſſible to taſte the half of them at a ſingle entertainment. See FLEURY, *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſtique*, liv. lxxvii. tom. xiv. p. 351. edit. *Bruxelles*.

[*i*] See S. BERNARDI *Apologia* in *Oper.* tom. i. p. 523—533.—The *Apology* of PETER, abbot of *Clugni*, ſurnamed the *Venerable*, which is publiſhed among his *Epiſtles*, lib. i. ep. 28. in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacenſis*, tom. i. p. 657—695.—See alſo the *Dialogus inter Cluniacenſem et Ciſtercienſem*, publiſhed by MARTENE, in his *Theſaur. Anecdot.* tom. v. p. 1573.—1613.—Compare with all theſe MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 80. and MANRIQUEZ, *Annal. Ciſterc.* tom. i. p. 28.

[*k*] See ANGELI MANRIQUEZ, *Annal. Ciſtercienſes*, tom. i. p. 232.—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 212. 479. & *Præfat. ad Opera S. Bernardi.*—JO. DE LANNES, *Hiſtoire du Pontificat d'Innocent* II. p. 68—79.—JO. NIC. HERTII *Diſſ. de exemptione Ciſterc. à decimis.*

drones,

drones, who paſſed their days in luxury and ſloth. They kept public ſchools for the inſtruction of youth, and exerciſed a variety of eccleſiaſtical functions, which rendered them extremely uſeful to the church [*l*]. Hence they roſe daily in credit and reputation, received many rich and noble donations from ſeveral perſons, whoſe opulence and piety rendered them able and willing to diſtinguiſh merit, and were alſo often put in poſſeſſion of the revenues of the monks, whoſe diſſolute lives occaſioned, from time to time, the ſuppreſſion of their convents. This, as might well be expected, inflamed the rage of the monaſtic orders againſt the regular canons, whom they attacked with the greateſt fury, and loaded with the bittereſt invectives. The canons, in their turn, were far from being backward in making repriſals; they exclaimed, on the contrary, againſt the monks with the utmoſt vehemence; enumerated their vices both in their diſcourſes and in their writings, and inſiſted upon their being confined to their monaſteries, ſequeſtered from human ſociety, and excluded from all eccleſiaſtical honours and functions. Hence aroſe a long and warm conteſt between the monks and canons concerning pre-eminence, in which both parties carried their pretenſions too high, and exceeded the bounds of decency and moderation [*m*]. The champions, who eſpouſed the intereſt of the monks, were the famous PETER ABELARD, HUGH of *Amiens*, RUPERT of *Duytz*; while the cauſe of the canons was defended by PHILIP HARVENGIUS, a learned abbot, and ſeveral other men of genius and abilities [*n*]. The effects

[*l*] See the *Hiſtoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. ix. p. 112.

[*m*] See LAMBERTI *Epiſtola* in MARTENE, *Theſaur. Anecdot.* tom. i. p. 329.

[*n*] ABELARDI *Opera*, p. 228, *Pariſ.* 1616, in 4to.—MARTENE, *Theſaur. Anecdot.* tom. v. p. 970—975. 1614. et *Amplifſima*

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effects and remains of this ancient controverſy are yet viſible in our times.

New monaſtic orders.

XIX. A new ſociety of religious Benedictines aroſe about the commencement of this century, whoſe principal monaſtery was erected in a barren and ſolitary place, called *Fontevraud*, between *Angers* and *Tours*, from whence the order derived its name. ROBERT of *Arbriſelles*, its founder, who had been firſt an hermit, and afterwards a monk, preſcribed to his *religious* of both ſexes, the rule of St. BENEDICT, amplified, however, by the addition of ſeveral new laws, which were extremely ſingular and exceſſively ſevere. Among other ſingularities that diſtinguiſhed this inſtitution, one was, that the ſeveral monaſteries which ROBERT had built, within one and the ſame incloſure, for his monks and nuns, were all ſubjected to the authority and government of one abbeſs; in juſtification of which meaſure, the example of CHRIST was alleged, who recommended St. JOHN to the Virgin MARY, and impoſed it as an order upon that beloved diſciple, to be obedient to her as to his own mother [*o*]. This new order, like all other novelties of that kind, gained immediately a high degree of credit; the ſingularity of its diſcipline, its form, and its laws, engaged multitudes to embrace it, and thus

pliſſima ejuſdem Collectio, tom. ix. p. 971, 972.—PHIL. HARVENGII *Opera*, p. 385. *Duaci* 1621, in folio.

[*o*] See the *Works* of ABELARD, p. 48. whoſe teſtimony in this matter is confirmed by the preſent ſtate and conſtitution of this famous order; though MABILLON, from an exceſſive partiality in favour of the Benedictines, has endeavoured to diminiſh its credit in his *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. p. 423. For an account of ROBERT and his order, ſee the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. *Februar.* p. 593.—DION. SAMMARTHANI *Gallia Chriſtiana*, tom. ii. p. 1311.—BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, at the article FONTEVRAUD.—HELYOT, *Hiſt. des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 83.—The preſent ſtate of this monaſtery is deſcribed by MOLEON, in his *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 108. and by MARTENE, in his *Voyage Litteraire de deux Benedictins*, part II. p. 1.

the

the labours of its founder were crowned with remarkable ſucceſs. [☞ But the aſſociation of vigorous monks and tender virgins, in the ſame community, was an imprudent meaſure, and could not but be attended with many inconveniencies. However that be, ROBERT continued his pious labours, and the odour of his ſanctity perfumed all the places where he exerciſed his miniſtry.] He was, indeed, ſuſpected by ſome, of too great an intimacy with his female diſciples; and it was rumoured about, that, in order to try his virtue, by oppoſing it to the ſtrongeſt temptations, he expoſed it to an inevitable defeat by the manner in which he converſed with theſe holy virgins. It was even ſaid, that their commerce was ſoftened by ſomething more tender than divine love; againſt which charge, his diſciples have uſed their moſt zealous endeavours to defend their maſter [*p*].

XX. NORBERT, a German nobleman, who went into holy orders, and was afterwards archbiſhop of *Magdebourg*, employed his moſt zealous efforts to reſtore to its primitive ſeverity the diſ- The Order of Premontré.

[*p*] See the letters of GEOFFRY, abbot of *Vendôme*, and of MARBOD, biſhop of *Rennes*, in which ROBERT is accuſed of lying in the ſame bed with the nuns. *How* the grave abbot was defended againſt this accuſation by the members of his order, may be ſeen in MAINFERME's *Clypeus Naſcentis Ordinis Fontebraldenſis*, publiſhed in 8vo at *Paris*, in the year 1684; and alſo by another production of the ſame author, entitled *Diſſertationes in Epiſtolam contra Robertum de Arbriſſello, Salnurii*, 1682, in 8vo. BAYLE's account of this famous abbot, in which there is ſuch an admirable mixture of wit, ſenſe, and malice, has been alſo attacked by ſeveral writers; ſee, among others, the *Diſſertation Apologetique pour le bienheureux Robert d'Arbriſſelles ſur ce qu'en a dit M. Bayle, Anvers* 1701, in 8vo.—MABILLON, *Annal.* tom. v. et vi. p. 9, 10.

☞ In the year 1177, ſome nuns of this order were brought into *England*, at the deſire of HENRY III., who gave them the monaſtery of *Ambreſbury* in *Wiltſhire*. They had two other houſes here; the one at *Eton*, the other at *Weſtwood*, in *Worceſterſhire*.

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cipline of the *regular canons*, which was extremely relaxed in ſome places, and almoſt totally aboliſhed in others. This eminent reformer founded, in the year 1121, the *Order of Premontré* in *Picardy*, whoſe fame ſpread throughout *Europe* with an amazing rapidity, and whoſe opulence, in a ſhort ſpace of time, became exceſſive and enormous [*q*], in conſequence of the high eſteem which the monks of this community had acquired by the gravity of their manners, and their aſſiduous application to the liberal arts and ſciences. But their overgrown proſperity was the ſource of their ruin; it ſoon diminiſhed their zeal for the exerciſes of devotion, extinguiſhed their thirſt after uſeful knowledge, and thus, ſtep by ſtep, plunged them, at length, into all ſorts of vices. The rule which they followed was that of St. AUGUSTIN, with ſome ſlight alterations, and an addition of certain ſevere laws, whoſe authority, however, did not long ſurvive their auſtere founder [*r*].

XXI. About

☞ [*q*] The *religious* of this order were at firſt ſo poor, that they had nothing they could call their own, but a ſingle aſs, which ſerved to carry the wood they cut down every morning, and ſent to *Laon* in order to purchaſe bread. But in a ſhort time they received ſo many donations, and built ſo many monaſteries, that, thirty years after the foundation of this Order, they had above an hundred abbies in *France* and *Germany*. In proceſs of time, the Order increaſed ſo prodigiouſly, that it had monaſteries in all parts of *Chriſtendom*, amounting to 1000 abbies, 300 provoſtſhips, a vaſt number of priories, and 500 nunneries. But this number is now greatly diminiſhed. Beſides what they loſt in proteſtant countries, of ſixty-five abbeys, that they had in *Italy*, there is not one now remaining.

[*r*] See HELYOT. *Hiſt. des Ordres*, tom. ii. p. 156.—CHRYSOST. Van der STERIB, *Vita S. Norberti Præmonſtratenſium Patriarchæ*, publiſhed in 8vo, at *Antwerp* in 1656.—LOUIS HUGHES, *Vie de S. Norbert*, *Luxemb.* 1704, in 4to.—Add to theſe, notwithſtanding his partiality, Jo. LAUNOIUS, *Inquiſit. in Privilegia Ordin. Præmonſtrat.* cap. i, ii. *Oper.* tom. iii. part I. p. 448. For an account of the preſent ſtate of the *Order of Premontré*, ſee MARTENE's *Voyage Litteraire de deux Benedictins*, tom. ii. p. 59.

☞ The

XXI. About the middle of this century, a certain Calabrian, whoſe name was BERTHOLD, ſet out with a few companions for mount *Carmel*, and, upon the very ſpot where the prophet ELIAS is ſaid to have diſappeared, built an humble cottage, with an adjoining chapel, in which he led a life of ſolitude, auſterity, and labour. This little colony ſubſiſted, and the places of thoſe that died were more than filled by new-comers; ſo that it was, at length [*s*], erected into a monaſtic community by ALBERT, patriarch of *Jeruſalem*. This auſtere prelate drew up a rule of diſcipline for the new monks, which was afterwards confirmed by the authority of the Roman pontifs, who modified and altered it in ſeveral reſpects, and, among other corrections, mitigated its exceſſive rigour, and ſeverity [*t*]. Such was the origin of the famous *Order of Carmelites*, or, as they are commonly called, of the *Order of our Lady of mount Carmel*, which was afterwards tranſplanted from *Syria* into *Europe*, and obtained the principal rank among the mendicant or begging orders. It is true, the Carmelites reject, with

☞ The *Præmonſtratenſes*, or monks of *Premontré*, vulgarly called *White Canons*, came firſt into *England* A. D. 1146. Their firſt monaſtery, called *New Houſe*, was built in *Lincolnſhire*, by *Peter de Saulia*, and dedicated to St. *Martial*. In the reign of EDWARD I., the Order in queſtion had twenty-ſeven monaſteries in *England*.

[*s*] In the year 1205.

[*t*] I have here principally followed DAN. PAPEBROCH, an accurate writer, and one who is always careful to produce ſufficient teſtimonies of the truth of his narrations, ſee the *Acta Sanctor. Antwerp. Menſe April.* tom. iii. p. 774.—802. It is well known, that an accuſation was brought againſt this learned jeſuit, before the tribunal of the Roman pontif, by the Carmelites, on account of his having called in queſtion the dignity and high antiquity of their Order. We have in HELYOT's *Hiſt. des Ordres*, tom. i. p. 282. an account of this long and tedious conteſt, which was ſo far determined, or at leaſt ſuſpended, in the year 1698, by INNOCENT XII., that ſilence was impoſed upon the contending parties.

the

the higheſt indignation, an origin ſo recent and obſcure, and affirm to this very day, that the prophet ELIAS was the parent and founder of their ancient community [*u*]. Very few, however, have been engaged to adopt this fabulous and chimerical account of their eſtabliſhment, except the members of the order, and many Roman catholic writers have treated their pretenſions to ſuch a remote antiquity with the utmoſt contempt [*w*]. [☞ And ſcarcely, indeed, can any thing be more ridiculous than the circumſtantial narrations of the occaſion, origin, founder, and revolutions of this famous order, which we find in ſeveral eccleſiaſtical authors, whoſe zeal for this fraternity has rendered them capable of adopting, without reluctance, or, at leaſt, of reciting without ſhame, the moſt puerile and glaring abſurdities. They tell us, that ELIAS was introduced into the ſtate of monachiſm by the miniſtry of angels; that his firſt diſciples were JONAH, MICAH, and alſo OBADIAH, whoſe wife, in order to get rid of an importunate crowd of lovers, who fluttered about her at the court of AHAB, after the departure of her huſband, bound herſelf by a vow of chaſtity, received the veil from the hands of *father* ELIAS, and thus became the firſt abbeſs of the Carmelite Order. They enter into a vaſt detail of all the circumſtances that relate to the rules of diſcipline which were drawn up for this community, the habit which

[*u*] The moſt conciſe and accurate of all the Carmelite writers, who have treated this matter, is THOMAS AQUINAS, a French monk, in his *Diſſertatio Hiſtor. Theol. in qua Patriarchus Ordinis Carmelitarum Prophetæ Eliæ vindicatur*, publiſhed in 8vo, at *Paris*, in the year 1632. The modern writers, who have maintained the cauſe of the Carmelites againſt PAPEBROCH, are extremely prolix and tireſome.

[*w*] See HARDUINI *Opera poſthum.* p. 642.—LABAT, *Voyage en Eſpagne et Italie*, tom. iii. p. 87.—COURAYER, *Examen des defauts Theologiques*, tom. i. p. 455.

diſtinguiſhed

diſtinguiſhed its members, and the various alterations which were introduced into their rule of diſcipline in proceſs of time. They obſerve, that, among other marks which were uſed to diſtinguiſh the Carmelites from the ſeculars, the *tonſure* was one; that this mark of diſtinction expoſed them, indeed, to the mockeries of a profane multitude; and that this furniſhes the true explication of the terms *bald head,* which the children addreſſed, by way of reproach, to ELISHAH as he was on his way to *Carmel* [*x*]. They tell us, moreover, that PYTHAGORAS was a member of this ancient order; that he drew all his wiſdom from mount *Carmel,* and had ſeveral converſations with the prophet DANIEL at *Babylon,* upon the ſubject of the Trinity. Nay, they go ſtill farther into the region of fable, and aſſert, that the Virgin MARY, and JESUS himſelf, aſſumed the habit and profeſſion of Carmelites; and they load this fiction with a heap of abſurd circumſtances, which it is impoſſible to read without the higheſt aſtoniſhment [*y*].]

XXII.

[*x*] See 2 KINGS, ii. 23.

☞ [*y*] For an ample account of all the abſurd inventions here hinted at, ſee a very remarkable work, entitled, ORDRES MONASTIQUES, *Hiſtoire extraite de tous les Auteurs qui ont conſervé à la Poſterité ce qu'il y a de plus curieux dans chaque ordre, enrichie d'un tres grand nombre de paſſages des mêmes Auteurs; pour ſervir de demonſtration que ce qu'on y avance eſt egalement veritable et curieux.* This work, which was firſt printed at *Paris* in 1751, under the title of *Berlin,* and which was ſuppreſſed almoſt as ſoon as it appeared, is written with great wit, eloquence, and learning; and all the narrations it contains are confirmed by citations from the moſt eminent authors who have given accounts of the religious orders. The author's deſign ſeems to have been to expoſe the monks of every denomination to the laughter of his readers; and it is very remarkble, that, in the execution of his purpoſe, he has drawn his materials from the graveſt authors, and from the moſt zealous defenders of monachiſm. If he has embelliſhed his ſubject, it is by the vivacity of his manner, and the witty elegance of his ſtyle, and not by laying

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Greek writers.

XXII. To this brief account of the religious orders, it will not be amiſs to add a liſt of the principal Greek and Latin writers that flouriſhed in this century. The moſt eminent among the Greeks were thoſe that follow:

PHILIPPUS SOLITARIUS, whoſe *Dioptra*, or controverſy between the ſoul and the body, is ſufficiently known;

EUSTRATIUS, who maintained the cauſe of the Greek church againſt the Latins with great learning and ſpirit, and who wrote commentaries on certain books of ARISTOTLE;

EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, who, by his *Antiheretical Panoply*, together with his commentaries upon ſeveral parts of the ſacred writings, has acquired a place among the principal authors of this century [z];

JOHANNES ZONARAS, whoſe *Annals*, together with ſeveral other productions of his learned pen, are ſtill extant;

MICHAEL GLYCAS, who alſo applied himſelf to hiſtorical compoſition, as well as to other branches of learning [a];

CONSTANTIUS HARMENOPULUS, whoſe commentaries on the civil and canon laws are deſervedly eſteemed;

ing to the charge of the monaſtic communities any practices which their moſt ſerious hiſtorians omit or diſavow. The authors of the *Bibliotheque des Sciences et de Beaux Arts*, at the *Hague*, have given ſeveral intereſting extracts of this work in the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of that Literary Journal.

☞ The Carmelites came into *England* in the year 1240, and erected there a vaſt number of monaſteries almoſt through the whole kingdom. See BROUGHTON's *Hiſtorical Library*, vol. i. p. 208.

[z] See RICH. SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccleſ. par M.* DU PIN, tom. i. p. 318. 324.

[a] Other hiſtorians place GLYCAS in the fifteenth century. See LAMI *Diſſertatio de Glyca*, which is prefixed to the firſt volume of his *Deliciæ vivorum eruditorum*.

ANDRONICUS

ANDRONICUS CAMATERUS, who wrote with great warmth and vehemence againſt the Latins and Armenians;

EUSTATHIUS, biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, the moſt learned of the Greeks in this century, and the celebrated commentator of the *Iliad*;

THEODORUS BALSAMON, who employed great diligence, erudition, and labour, in explaining and digeſting the civil and eccleſiaſtical laws of the Greeks [*b*].

XXIII. The moſt eminent among the Latin writers were, Latin writers.

BERNARD, abbot of *Clairval*, from whom the Ciſtertian monks, as has been already obſerved, derived the title of *Bernardins*; a man who was not deſtitute of genius and taſte, and whoſe judgment, in many reſpects, was juſt and penetrating; but who, on the other hand, diſcovered in his conduct, many marks of ſuperſtition, and weakneſs, and, what is ſtill worſe, concealed the luſt of dominion under the maſk of piety, and made no ſcruple of loading with falſe accuſations, ſuch as had the misfortune to incur his diſpleaſure [*c*];

INNOCENT III., biſhop of *Rome*, whoſe epiſtles and other productions contribute to illuſtrate the religious ſentiments, as alſo the diſcipline and morals, that prevailed in this century [*d*];

ANSELM of *Laon*, a man of a ſubtle genius, and deeply verſed in logical diſquiſition;

[*b*] See the *Billiotheca Græca* of FABRICIUS.

[*c*] The learned MABILLON has given a ſplendid edition of the works of St. BERNARD, and has not only in his Preface made many excellent obſervations upon the life and hiſtory of this famous abbot, but has alſo ſubjoined to his *Works*, the accounts that have been given, by the ancient writers, of his life and actions.

[*d*] The Epiſtles of INNOCENT III. were publiſhed at *Paris*, in two large volumes in folio, by BALUZIUS, in the year 1682.

ABELARD

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ABELARD, the diſciple of ANSELM, and moſt famous in this century, on account of the elegance of his wit, the extent of his erudition, the power of his rhetoric, and the bitterneſs of his unhappy fate [*e*];

GEOFFRY of *Vendôme*, whoſe *Epiſtles* and *Diſſertations* are yet extant;

RUPERT of *Duytz*, and the moſt eminent, perhaps, of all the expoſitors of the holy ſcriptures, who flouriſhed among the Latins during this century, a man of a ſound judgment and an elegant taſte [*f*];

HUGH of *St. Victor*, a man diſtinguiſhed by the fecundity of his genius, who treated in his writings of all the branches of ſacred and profane erudition that were known in his time, and who compoſed ſeveral diſſertations that are not deſtitute of merit [*g*];

RICHARD of *St. Victor*, who was at the head of the Myſtics in this century, and whoſe treatiſe, entitled, *The Myſtical Ark*, which contains, as it were, the marrow of that kind of theology, was received with the greateſt avidity, and applauded by the fanatics of the times [*h*];

[*e*] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the articles ABELARD and PARACLET.—GERVAIS, *Vie de Pierre Abeillard, Abbe de Ruys, et de Heloiſe*, publiſhed at *Paris* in two volumes 8vo, in the year 1728. The works of this famous and unfortunate monk were publiſhed at *Paris* in 1616, in one volume 4to. by FRANC. AMBOISE. Another edition, much more ample, might be given, ſince there are a great number of the productions of ABELARD that have never yet ſeen the light.

[*f*] See MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 19, 20. 42. 144. 168. 261. 282. 296. who gives an ample account of RUPERT, and of the diſputes in which he was involved.

[*g*] See *Gallia Chriſtiana*, tom. vii. p. 661. The works of this learned man were publiſhed at *Rouen*, in three volumes in folio, in the year 1648. See for a farther account of him, DERLANGII *Diſſert. de Hugoni a S. Victore, Helmſtadt*, 1746, in 4to, and MARTENE's *Voyage Litteraire*, tom. ii. p. 91, 92.

[*h*] *Gallia Chriſtiana*, tom. vii. p. 669.

HONORIUS

HONORIUS of *Autun* [*i*], no mean philoſopher, and tolerably verſed in theological learning;

GRATIAN, a learned monk, who reduced the canon law into a new and regular form, in his vaſt compilation of the deciſions of the ancient and modern councils, the decretals of the pontifs, the capitularies of the kings of *France*, &c.;

WILLIAM of *Rheims*, the author of ſeveral productions, every way adapted to excite pious ſentiments, and to contribute to the progreſs of practical religion;

PETER LOMBARD, who was commonly called, in *France*, *Maſter of the Sentences*, becauſe he had compoſed a work ſo entitled, which was a collection of opinions and ſentences relative to the various branches of theology, extracted from the Latin doctors, and reduced into a ſort of ſyſtem [*k*];

GILBERTUS PORRETANUS [*l*], a ſubtle dialectician, and a learned divine, who is, however, ſaid to have adopted ſeveral erroneous ſentiments concerning *The Divine Eſſence*; *The Incarnation*; and *The Trinity* [*m*];

WILLIAM of *Auxerre*, who acquired a conſiderable reputation by his *Theological Syſtem* [*n*];

PETER of *Blois* [*o*], whoſe epiſtles and other productions may yet be read with profit;

[*i*] Such is the place to which HONORIUS is ſaid to have belonged. But LE BOEUF proves him to have been a German, in his *Diſſert. ſur l'Hiſt. Françoiſe*, tom. i. p. 254.

[*k*] *Gallia Chriſtiana*, tom. vii. p. 68.

[*l*] GILBERT, *De la Poirée*.

☞ [*m*] He held, among other things, this trifling and ſophiſtical propoſition, that *the divine eſſence and attributes are not God*; a propoſition that was every way proper to exerciſe the quibbling ſpirit of the ſcholaſtic writers.

[*n*] LE BOEUF, *Diſſert. ſur la Somme Theologique de Guillaume d'Auxerre*, in MOLAT's *Continuation des Memoires d'Hiſtoire et de Litterature*, tom. iii. part II. p. 317.

[*o*] PETRUS BLESENSIS.

JOHN

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JOHN of *Saliſbury*, a man of great learning and true genius, whoſe philoſophical and theological knowledge was adorned with a lively wit and a flowing eloquence, as appears in his *Metalogicus*, and his book *De nugis Curialium*;

PETRUS COMESTOR, author of *An Abridgment of the Old and New Teſtament*, which was uſed in the ſchools for the inſtruction of the youth, and called probably from thence, *Hiſtoria Scholaſtica*.

A more ample account of the names and characters of the Latin writers may be found in thoſe authors who have profeſſedly treated that branch of literature.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Chriſtian church in this century.

Chriſtianity corrupted more and more.

I. WHEN we conſider the multitude of cauſes which united their influence in obſcuring the luſtre of genuine Chriſtianity, and corrupting it by a profane mixture of the inventions of ſuperſtitious and deſigning men with its pure and ſublime doctrines, it will appear ſurpriſing, that the religion of JESUS was not totally extinguiſhed. All orders contributed, though in different ways, to corrupt the native purity of true religion. The Roman pontifs led the way; they would not ſuffer any doctrines that had the ſmalleſt tendency to diminiſh their deſpotic authority; but obliged the public teachers to interpret the precepts of Chriſtianity in ſuch a manner, as to render them ſubſervient to the ſupport of papal dominion and tyranny. This order was ſo much the more terrible, in that ſuch as refuſed to comply with it, and to force the words of ſcripture

ſcripture into ſignifications totally oppoſite to the intention of its divine author, ſuch, in a word, as had the courage to place the authority of the goſpel above that of the Roman pontifs, and to conſider it as the ſupreme rule of their conduct, were anſwered with the formidable arguments of fire and ſword, and received death in the moſt cruel forms, as the fruit of their ſincerity and reſolution. The prieſts and monks contributed, in their way, to disfigure the beautiful ſimplicity of religion; and, finding it their intereſt to keep the people in the groſſeſt ignorance and darkneſs, dazzled their feeble eyes with the ludicrous pomp of a gaudy worſhip, and led them to place the whole of religion in vain ceremonies, bodily auſterities and exerciſes, and particularly in a blind and ſtupid veneration for the clergy. The ſcholaſtic doctors, who conſidered the deciſions of the ancients and the precepts of the Dialecticians as the great rule and criterion of truth, inſtead of explaining the doctrines of the goſpel, mined them by degrees, and ſunk divine truth under the ruins of a captious philoſophy; while the Myſtics, running into the oppoſite extreme, maintained, that the ſouls of the truly pious were incapable of any ſpontaneous motions, and could only be moved by a *divine impulſe*; and thus, not only ſet limits to the pretenſions of reaſon, but excluded it entirely from religion and morality; nay, in ſome meaſure, denied its very exiſtence.

Superſtition reigns among the multitude.

II. The conſequences of all this were ſuperſtition and ignorance, which were ſubſtituted in the place of true religion, and reigned over the multitude with an univerſal ſway. Relics, which were for the moſt part fictitious, or at leaſt uncertain, attracted more powerfully the confidence of the people, than the merits of CHRIST, and were ſuppoſed by many to be more effectual, than the prayers offered to heaven through the media-

tion and interceſſion of that divine Redeemer [*p*]. The opulent, whoſe circumſtances enabled them either to erect new temples, or to repair and embelliſh the old, were looked upon as the happieſt of all mortals, and were conſidered as the moſt intimate friends of the Moſt High. While they, whom poverty rendered incapable of ſuch pompous acts of liberality, contributed to the multiplication of religious edifices by their bodily labours, cheerfully performed the ſervices that beaſts of burden are uſually employed in, ſuch as carrying ſtones and drawing waggons, and expected to obtain eternal ſalvation by theſe voluntary and painful efforts of miſguided zeal [*q*]. The ſaints had a greater number of worſhippers, than the Supreme Being and the Saviour of mankind; nor did theſe ſuperſtitious worſhippers trouble their heads about that knotty queſtion, which occaſioned much debate and many laborious diſquiſitions in ſucceeding times, *viz. How the inhabitants of heaven came to the knowledge of the prayers and ſupplications that were addreſſed to them from the earth?* This queſtion was prevented in this century by an opinion, which the Chriſtians had received from their Pagan anceſtors, that the inhabitants of heaven deſcended often from above, and frequented the places in which they had formerly taken pleaſure during their reſidence upon earth [*r*]. To finiſh the horrid portrait

[*p*] See GUIBERT DE NOVIGENTO, *De pignoribus* (ſo were relics called) *ſanctorum*, in his *Works* publiſhed by DACHERIUS, p. 327. where he attacks, with judgment and dexterity, the ſuperſtition of theſe miſerable times.

[*q*] See HAYMON's Treatiſe concerning this cuſtom, publiſhed by MABILLON, at the end of the ſixth tome of his *Annal. Benedict.* See alſo theſe *Annals*, p. 392.

[*r*] As a proof that this aſſertion is not without foundation, we ſhall tranſcribe the following remarkable paſſage of the *Life of St.* ALTMAN, *biſhop of* PADUA, as it ſtands in SEB. TENGNAGL's

portrait of ſuperſtition, we ſhall only obſerve, that the ſtupid credulity of the people in this century went ſo far, that when any perſon, either through the frenzy of a diſordered imagination, or with a deſign to deceive, publiſhed the dreams or viſions, which they *fancied*, or *pretended*, they had from above, the multitude reſorted to the new oracle, and reſpected its deciſions as the commands of God, who, in this way, was pleaſed, as they imagined, to communicate counſel, inſtruction, and the knowledge of his will to men. This appears, to mention no other examples, from the extraordinary reputation which the two famous propheteſſes HILDEGARD abbeſs of *Bingen*, and ELIZABETH of *Schonauge*, obtained in *Germany* [*s*].

III. This univerſal reign of ignorance and ſuperſtition was dexterouſly, yet baſely improved, by the rulers of the church, to fill their coffers, and to drain the purſes of the deluded multitude. And, indeed, all the various ranks and orders of the clergy had each their peculiar method of fleecing the people. The *biſhops*, when they wanted money for their private pleaſures, or for the exigences of the church, granted to their flock the power of purchaſing the remiſſion of the penalties impoſed upon tranſgreſſors, by a ſum of money, which was to be applied to certain religious purpoſes; or, in other words, they publiſhed *indulgences*, which became an inexhauſtible ſource of opulence to the epiſcopal orders, and

The ſcandalous traffic of indulgences begun by the biſhops.

NAGL's *Collect. Vet. Monumentor.* p. 41. *Vos licet, ſancti Domini, ſomno veſtro requieſcatis . . . haud tamen crediderim, ſpiritus veſtros deeſſe locis quæ viventes tanta devotione conſtruxiſtis, et dilexiſtis. Credo vos adeſſe cunctis illic degentibus, aſtare videlicet orantibus, ſuccurrere laborantibus, et vota ſingulorum in conſpectu divinæ majeſtatis promovere.*

[*s*] See MABILLON, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 431. 529. 554.

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enabled them, as is well known, to form and execute the moſt difficult ſchemes for the enlargement of their authority, and to erect a multitude of ſacred edifices, which augmented conſiderably the external pomp and ſplendour of the church [*t*]. The *abbots* and *monks*, who were not qualified to grant *indulgences*, had recourſe to other methods of enriching their convents. They carried about the country the carcaſſes and relics of the ſaints in ſolemn proceſſion, and permitted the multitude to behold, touch, and embrace theſe ſacred and lucrative remains at certain fixed prices. The monaſtic orders gained often as much by this raree-ſhow, as the biſhops did by their indulgences [*u*].

And afterwards monopolized by the Roman pontifs.

IV. When the Roman pontifs caſt an eye upon the immenſe treaſures that the inferior rulers of the church were accumulating by the ſale of *indulgences*, they thought proper to limit the power of the biſhops in remitting the penalties impoſed upon tranſgreſſors, and aſſumed, almoſt entirely, this profitable traffic to themſelves. In conſequence of this new meaſure, the court of *Rome* became the general magazine of indulgences; and the pontifs, when either the wants of the church, the emptineſs of their coffers, or the demon of avarice, prompted them to look out for new ſubſidies, publiſhed, not only an univerſal, but alſo a complete, or what they called a *plenary*

[*t*] STEPHANUS, *Obazinenſis* in BALUZII *Miſcellan.* tom. iv. p. 130.—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 535, &c.

[*u*] We find in the records of this century innumerable examples of this method of extorting contributions from the multitude. See the *Chronicon. Centulenſe* in DACHERII *Spicilegio Veter. Scriptor.* tom. ii. p. 354.—*Vita Stæ. Romanæ*, ibid. p. 137.—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 342. 644.—*Acta Sanctor. Menſis Maii*, tom. vii. p. 533. where we have an account of a long journey made by the relics of *St. Mauculus*.—MABILLON, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 519, 520. & tom. ii. p. 732.

remiſſion

remiſſion of all the *temporal* pains and penalties, which the church had annexed to certain tranſgreſſions. They went ſtill farther; and not only remitted the penalties, which the civil and eccleſiaſtical laws had enacted againſt tranſgreſſors, but audaciouſly uſurped the authority which belongs to God alone, and impiouſly pretended to aboliſh even the puniſhments which are reſerved in a future ſtate for the workers of iniquity; a ſtep this, which the biſhops, with all their avarice and preſumption, had never once ventured to take [*w*].

The pontifs firſt employed this pretended prerogative in promoting the holy war, and ſhed abroad their *indulgences*, though with a certain degree of moderation, in order to encourage the European princes to form new expeditions for the conqueſt of *Paleſtine*; but, in proceſs of time, the charm of indulgences was practiſed upon various occaſions of much leſs conſequence, and merely with a view to filthy lucre [*x*]. Their introduction, among other things, deſtroyed the credit and authority of the ancient *canonical* and *eccleſiaſtical diſcipline of penance*, and occaſioned the removal and ſuppreſſion of the *penitentials* [*y*], by which the reins were let looſe to every kind of vice. Such proceedings ſtood much in need of a plauſible defence, but this was impoſſible. To juſtify therefore theſe ſcandalous meaſures of the

[*w*] MORINUS, *De adminiſtratione ſacramenti pœnitentiæ*, lib. x. cap. xx, xxi, xxii. p. 768.—RICH. SIMON, *Biblioth. Critique*, tom. iii. cap. xxxiii. p. 371.—MABILLON, *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. Sæc.* v. *Acta Sanctor. Benedict* p. 54. not to ſpeak of the proteſtant writers, whom I deſignedly paſs over.

[*x*] MURATORI *Antiq. Italic. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 761.—FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Rom. Pontif.* tom. ii. p. 60.—THEOD. RUINARTI *Vita Urbani* II. p. 231. tom. iii. Opp. Poſthum.

☞ [*y*] The *Penitential* was a book, in which the degree and kind of penance that were annexed to each crime, were regiſtered.

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pontifs, a moſt monſtrous and abſurd doctrine was now invented, which was modified and embelliſhed by St. THOMAS in the following century, and which contained among others the following enormities; "That there actually exiſted "an immenſe treaſure of *merit*, compoſed of the "pious deeds, and virtuous actions, which the "ſaints had performed *beyond what was neceſſary* "for their own ſalvation [z], and which were "therefore applicable to the benefit of others; "that the guardian and diſpenſer of this precious "treaſure was the Roman pontif; and that of "conſequence he was empowered to *aſſign* to "ſuch as he thought proper, a *portion* of this "inexhauſtible ſource of *merit*, ſuitable to their "reſpective guilt, and ſufficient to deliver them "from the puniſhment due to their crimes." It is a moſt deplorable mark of the power of ſuperſtition, that a doctriue, ſo abſurd in its nature, and ſo pernicious in its effects, ſhould yet be retained and defended in the church of *Rome* [a].

The expoſitors and commentators of this century.

V. Nothing was more common in this century than expoſitors and interpreters of the ſacred writings; but nothing was ſo rare, as to find, in that claſs of authors, the qualifications that are eſſentially required in a good commentator. Few of theſe expoſitors were attentive to ſearch after the true ſignification of the words employed by

☞ [z] Theſe works are known by the name of *Works of Supererogation*.

☞ [a] For a ſatisfactory and ample account of the enormous doctrine of indulgences, ſee a very learned and judicious work, entitled, *Lettres ſur les Jubilés*, publiſhed in the year 1751, in three volumes 8vo, by the Reverend Mr. CHAIS, miniſter of the French Church in the *Hague*, on occaſion of the univerſal *Jubilee* celebrated at *Rome* the preceding year, by the order of BENEDICT XIV. In the 2d volume of this excellent work, which we ſhall have frequent occaſion to conſult in the courſe of this hiſtory, there is a clear account and a ſatisfactory refutation of the doctrine in queſtion, as alſo the hiſtory of that monſtrous practice from its origin to the preſent times.

the

the ſacred writers, or to inveſtigate the preciſe ſenſe in which they were uſed; and theſe few were deſtitute of the ſuccours which ſuch reſearches demand. The Greek and Latin commentators, blinded by their enthuſiaſtic love of antiquity, and their implicit veneration for the doctors of the early ages of the church, drew from their writings, without diſcernment or choice, a heap of paſſages, which they were pleaſed to conſider as illuſtrations of the holy ſcriptures. Such were the commentaries of EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, an eminent expoſitor among the Greeks, upon the *Pſalms*, *Goſpels*, and *Epiſtles*; though it muſt, at the ſame time, be acknowledged, that this writer follows, in ſome places, the dictates of his own judgment, and gives, upon certain occaſions, proofs of penetration and genius. Among the Latins, we might give ſeveral examples of the injudicious manner of expounding the divine word that prevailed in this century, ſuch as the *Lucubrations* of PETER LOMBARD, GILBERT DE LA POREE, and the famous ABELARD, upon the *Pſalms of* DAVID, and the *Epiſtles of St.* PAUL. Nor do thoſe commentators among the Latins, who expounded the whole of the ſacred writings, and who are placed at the head of the expoſitors of this age, ſuch as GILBERT, biſhop of *London*, ſurnamed the *Univerſal*, on account of the vaſt extent of his erudition [*b*], and HERVEY, a moſt ſtudious Benedictine monk [*c*], deſerve a higher place in our eſteem, than the authors already mentioned. The writers that merit the preference among the Latins are RU-

[*b*] For an account of this prelate, ſee LE BOEUF, *Memoires concernant l'Hiſtoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 486.

[*c*] An ample account of this learned Benedictine is to be found in GABR. LIRON, *Singularites Hiſtoriques et Litteraires*, tom. iii. p. 29.—See alſo MABILLON, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 477. 719.

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PERT of *Duytz*, and ANSELM of *Laon*; the former of whom expounded ſeveral books of ſcripture, and the latter compoſed, or rather compiled, a *gloſſary upon the ſacred writings*. As to thoſe doctors who were not carried away by an enthuſiaſtical veneration for the ancients, who had courage enough to try their own talents, and to follow the dictates of their own ſagacity, they were chargeable with defects of another kind; for, diſregarding and overlooking the beautiful ſimplicity of divine truth, they were perpetually bent on the ſearch of all ſorts of myſteries in the ſacred writings, and were conſtantly on the ſcent after ſome hidden meaning in the plaineſt expreſſions of ſcripture. The people called *Myſtics* excelled peculiarly in this manner of expounding; and forced, by their violent explications, the word of God into a conformity with their viſionary doctrines, their enthuſiaſtic feelings, and the ſyſtem of diſcipline which they had drawn from the excurſions of their irregular fancies. Nor were the commentators, who pretended to logic and philoſophy, and who, in effect, had applied themſelves to theſe profound ſciences, free from the contagion of *myſticiſm* in their explications of ſcripture. They followed, on the contrary, the example of theſe fanatics, as may be ſeen by HUGH of St. VICTOR's *Allegorical Expoſition of the Old and New Teſtament*, by the *Myſtical Ark* of RICHARD of St. VICTOR, and by the *Myſtical Commentaries* of GUIBERT, abbot of *Nogent*, on *Obadiah*, *Hoſea*, and *Amos* [*d*]; not to mention ſeveral other writers, who ſeem to have been animated by the ſame ſpirit.

The manner of teaching theology that now prevailed.

VI. The moſt eminent teachers of theology reſided at *Paris*, which city was, from this time forward, frequented by ſtudents of divinity

[*d*] The *Prologus in Abdiam* has been publiſhed by MABILLON, in his *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 637.

from

from all parts of *Europe*, who reſorted thither in crowds, to receive inſtruction from theſe celebrated maſters. The French divines were divided into different ſects. The firſt of theſe ſects, who were diſtinguiſhed by the title of *The Ancient Theologiſts*, explained the doctrines of religion, in a plain and ſimple manner, by paſſages drawn from the holy ſcriptures, from the decrees of councils, and the writings of the ancient doctors, and very rarely made uſe of the ſuccours of reaſon or philoſophy in their theological lectures. In this claſs we place St. BERNARD, PETER ſurnamed the *Chanter*, WALTER of St. VICTOR, and other doctors, who declared an open and bitter war againſt the *philoſophical divines*. The doctors, which were afterwards known by the name of *Poſitivi* and *Sententiarii*, were not in all reſpects, different from theſe now mentioned. Imitating the examples of ANSELM, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, LANFRANC, HILDEBERT, and other doctors of the preceding century, they taught and confirmed their ſyſtem of theology, principally by collecting the deciſions of the inſpired writers, and the opinions of the ancients. At the ſame time they were far from rejecting the ſuccours of reaſon, and the diſcuſſions of philoſophy, to which they more eſpecially had recourſe, when difficulties were to be ſolved, and adverſaries to be refuted, but, in the application of which, all did not diſcover the ſame degree of moderation and prudence. HUGH of St. Victor is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt writer of this century, who taught in this manner the doctrines of Chriſtianity, digeſted into a regular ſyſtem. His example, however, was followed by many; but none acquired ſuch a ſhining reputation by his labours, in this branch of ſacred erudition, as PETER, biſhop of *Paris*, ſurnamed LOMBARD, from the country which gave him birth. The *Four books*

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of Sentences of this eminent prelate, which appeared in the year 1172 [*e*], were not only received with univerſal applauſe, but acquired alſo ſuch a high degree of authority, as induced the moſt learned doctors in all places to employ their labours in illuſtrating and expounding them. Scarcely was there any divine of note that did not undertake this popular taſk, except HENRY of *Gendt*, and a few others [*f*]; ſo that LOMBARD, who was commonly called *Maſter of the ſentences*, on account of the famous work now mentioned, became truly a claſſic author in divinity [*g*].

The ſchol. ſtics, properly ſo called.

VII. The followers of LOMBARD, who were called *Sententiarii*, though their manner of teaching was defective in ſome reſpects, and not altogether exempt from vain and trivial queſtions, were always attentive to avoid entering too far into the ſubtilties of the Dialecticians, nor did they preſumptuouſly attempt ſubmitting the divine truths of the goſpel to the uncertain and

[*e*] ERPOLDI LINDENBROGII *Scriptores Septemtrionales*, p. 250.

[*f*] A liſt of the commentators who laboured in explaining the *Sentences* of PETER LOMBARD, is given by ANTON. POSSEVINUS, in his *Biblioth. Selecta*, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. xiv. p. 242.

☞ [*g*] The *Book of Sentences*, which rendered the name of PETER LOMBARD ſo illuſtrious, was a compilation of ſentences and paſſages drawn from the fathers, whoſe manifold contradictions this eminent prelate endeavoured to reconcile. His work may be conſidered as a complete body of divinity. It conſiſts of FOUR BOOKS, each of which is ſubdivided into various chapters and ſections. In the FIRST he treats of the *Trinity*, and the *Divine Attributes*; in the SECOND, of the *Creation* in general, of the *Origin of Angels*, the *Formation and Fall of Man*, of *Grace* and *Free Will*, of *Original Sin* and *Actual Tranſgreſſion*; in the THIRD, of the *Incarnation*, and *Perfections* of *Jeſus Chriſt*, of *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity*, of the *Gifts of the Spirit*, and the *Commandments of God*. The *Sacraments*, the *Reſurrection*, the *Laſt Judgment*, and the *State of the Righteous in Heaven*, are the ſubjects treated in the FOURTH and laſt book of this famous work, which was the wonder of the twelfth century, and is little more than an object of contempt in ours.

obſcure

obſcure principles of a refined and intricate logic, which was rather founded on the excurſions of fancy than on the nature of things. They had for contemporaries another ſet of theologiſts, who were far from imitating their moderation and prudence in this reſpect; a ſet of ſubtile doctors, who taught the plain and ſimple truths of Chriſtianity, in the obſcure terms and with the perplexing diſtinctions uſed by the Dialecticians, and explained, or rather darkened, with their unintelligible jargon, the ſublime precepts of the wiſdom that is from above. This method of teaching theology, which was afterwards called the *ſcholaſtic* ſyſtem, becauſe it was in general uſe in the ſchools, had for its author, PETER ABELARD, a man of the moſt ſubtile genius, whoſe public lectures in philoſophy and divinity had raiſed him to the higheſt ſummit of literary renown, and who was ſucceſſively canon of *Paris*, and monk and abbot of *Ruys* [*b*]. The fame he acquired by this new method engaged many ambitious divines to adopt it; and, in a ſhort ſpace of time, the followers of ABELARD multiplied prodigiouſly, not only in *France*, but alſo in *England* and *Italy*. Thus was the *pure* and *peaceable* wiſdom of the goſpel perverted into a ſcience of mere ſophiſtry and chichane; for theſe ſubtile doctors never explained or illuſtrated any ſubject, but, on the contrary, darkened and disfigured the plaineſt expreſſions, and the moſt evident truths, by their laboured and uſeleſs diſtinctions, fatigued both themſelves and others with unintelligible ſolutions of abſtruſe and frivolous queſtions, and through a rage for diſputing, maintained with equal vehemence and ardour the

[*b*] ABELARD acknowledges this himſelf, *Epiſt.* i. *cap.* ix. p. 20. *Oper.*—See alſo LAUNOIUS, *De Scholis Caroli M.* p. 67. cap. lix. tom. iv. opp. part I,

oppoſite

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oppoſite ſides of the moſt ſerious and momentous queſtions [*i*].

The Chriſtian doctors divided into two claſſes, called *biblici* and *ſcholaſtics*.

VIII. From this period therefore, an important diſtinction was made between the Chriſtian doctors, who were divided into two claſſes. In the firſt claſs were placed thoſe, who were called by the various names of *biblici*, *i. e.* bible-doctors, *dogmatici*, and *poſitivi*, *i. e.* didactic divines, and alſo *veteres*, or ancients; and in the ſecond were ranged the *ſcholaſtics*, who were alſo diſtinguiſhed by the titles of *Sententiarii*, after the *Maſter of the ſentences*, and *Novi*, to expreſs their recent origin. The *former* expounded, though in a wretched manner, the ſacred writings in their public ſchools, illuſtrated the doctrines of Chriſtianity, without deriving any ſuccours from reaſon or philoſophy, and confirmed their opinions by the united teſtimonies of *Scripture* and *Tradition*. The *latter* expounded, inſtead of the Bible, the famous *Book of Sentences*; reduced, under the province of their ſubtile philoſophy, whatever the goſpel propoſed as an object of faith, or a rule of practice; and perplexed and obſcured its divine doctrines and precepts by a multitude of vain queſtions and idle ſpeculations [*k*]. The method of the *ſcholaſtics* exhibited a pompous aſpect of learning, and theſe ſubtile doctors ſeemed to ſurpaſs their adverſaries in ſagacity and genius; hence they excited the admiration of the ſtudious youth, who flocked to their ſchools in multitudes, while the *biblici*, or *doctors of the ſacred page*, as they were alſo called, had the mortification to ſee their auditories unfre-

[*i*] CÆS. EGASSE DE BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 201. 585.—ANTON. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxonienſ.* tom. i. p. 58.—LAUNOIUS, *De varia Ariſtotelis fortuna in Acad. Pariſ.* cap. iii. p. 187. *Edit. Elſwichii Vitem.* 1720. in 8vo.

[*k*] See BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 657.

quented,

quented, and almoſt deſerted [*l*]. The ſcholaſtic theology continued in high repute in all the European colleges until the time of LUTHER.

The ſcholaſtic divines oppoſed from different quarters.

IX. It muſt, however, be obſerved, that theſe metaphyſical divines had many difficulties to encounter, and much oppoſition to overcome, before they could obtain that boundleſs authority in the European ſchools, which they enjoyed ſo long. They were attacked from different quarters; on the one hand, by the *ancient divines* or bible-doctors; on the other, by the *myſtics*, who conſidered true wiſdom and knowledge as unattainable by ſtudy or reaſoning, and as the fruit of mere contemplation, inward feeling, and a paſſive acquieſcence in divine influences. Thus that ancient conflict between *faith* and *reaſon*, that had formerly divided the Latin doctors, and had been for many years huſhed in ſilence, was now unhappily revived, and produced every where new tumults and diſſenſions. The patrons and defenders of the ancient theology, who attacked the ſchoolmen, were

[*l*] The *Book of Sentences* ſeemed to be at this time in much greater repute, than the Holy Scriptures, and the compilations of PETER LOMBARD were preferred to the doctrines and precepts of JESUS CHRIST. This appears evident from the following remarkable paſſage in ROGER BACON's *Op. Maj. ad Clementem* IV., *Pontif. Rom.* publiſhed in 1733 at *London*, by SAM. JEBB, from the original MSS. *Baccalaureus qui legit textum* (ſcripturæ) *ſuccumbit lectori ſententiarum, et ubique in omnibus honoratur et prefertur: nam ille, qui legit ſententias habet, principalem horam legendi ſecundum ſuam voluntatem, habet et ſocium et cameram apud religioſos: ſed qui legit Bibliam, caret his, et mendicat horam legendi ſecundum quod placet lectori ſententiarum: et qui legit ſummas, diſputat ubique et pro magiſtro habetur, reliquus qui textum legit, non poteſt diſputare, ſicut fuit hoc anno Bononiæ, et in multis aliis locis, quod eſt abſurdum: manifeſtum eſt igitur, quod textus illius facultatis* (ſc. Theologicæ) *ſubjicitur uni ſummæ magiſtrali.* Such was now the authority of the ſcholaſtic theology, as appears from the words of BACON, who lived in the following age, and in whoſe writings there are many things highly worthy of the attention of the curious.

GUIBERT

GUIBERT abbot of *Nogent* [*m*], PETER abbot of *Mouſtier-la-Celle* [*n*], PETER the Chanter [*o*], and principally WALTER of St. VICTOR [*p*]. The myſtics alſo ſent forth into the field of controverſy upon this occaſion, their ableſt and moſt violent champions, ſuch as JOACHIM abbot of *Flori*; RICHARD of St. VICTOR, who loaded with invectives the ſcholaſtic divines, and more eſpecially LOMBARD, though he was, undoubtedly, the moſt candid and modeſt doctor of that ſubtile tribe. Theſe diſſenſions and conteſts, whoſe deplorable effects augmented from day to day, engaged ALEXANDER III., who was pontif at this time, to interpoſe his authority, in order to reſtore tranquillity and concord in the church. For this purpoſe he convoked a ſolemn and numerous aſſembly of the clergy in the year 1164 [*q*], in which the licentious rage of diſputing about religious matters was condemned; and another in the year 1179, in which ſome particular errors of PETER LOMBARD were pointed out and cenſured [*r*].

And principally by St. Bernard.

X. But of all the adverſaries that aſſailed the ſcholaſtic divines in this century, none was ſo formidable as the famous St. BERNARD, whoſe zeal was ardent beyond all expreſſion, and whoſe influence and authority were equal to his zeal. And, accordingly, we find this illuſtrious abbot

[*m*] In his *Tropologia in Oſeam*, p. 203. Opp.

[*n*] *Opuſcul.* p. 277. 396. edit. *Benedict.*

[*o*] In his *Verbum Abbreviat.* cap. iii. p. 6, 7. publiſhed at *Mons* in the year 1639, in 4to, by GEORGE GALOPIN.

[*p*] In his *Libri* iv. *contra Quatuor Franciæ Labyrinthos et novos hæreticos.* He called *Abelard, Gilbert de la Porée, Lombard,* and *Peter of Poitiers,* who were the principal ſcholaſtic divines of this century, the four *Labyrinths of France.* For an account of this work, which is yet in manuſcript, ſee BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 619. 659.

[*q*] ANT. PAGI *Critic. in Baronium,* tom. iv. *ad A.* 1164. p. 614, 615.

[*r*] MATTH. PARIS, *Hiſtor. Major,* p. 115.—BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 402.

combating

combating the Dialecticians, not only in his writings and his converſation, but alſo by his deeds; arming againſt them ſynods and councils, the decrees of the church, and the laws of the ſtate. The renowned ABELARD, who was as much ſuperior to St. BERNARD in ſagacity and erudition, as he was his inferior in credit and authority, was one of the firſt, who felt, by a bitter experience, the averſion of the lordly abbot to the ſcholaſtic doctors: for, in the year 1121, he was called before the council of *Soiſſons*, and before that of *Sens* in the year 1140, in both of which aſſemblies he was accuſed by St. BERNARD of the moſt pernicious errors, and was finally condemned as an egregious heretic [*s*]. The charge brought againſt this ſubtile and learned monk was, that he had notoriouſly corrupted the doctrine of the Trinity, blaſphemed againſt the majeſty of the Holy Ghoſt, entertained unworthy and falſe conceptions of the perſon and offices of CHRIST, and the union of the two natures in him, denied the neceſſity of the divine grace to render us virtuous, and in a word, that his doctrines ſtruck at the fundamental principles of all religion. It muſt be confeſſed by thoſe who are acquainted with the writings of ABELARD, that he expreſſed himſelf in a very ſingular and incongruous manner upon ſeveral points of theology [*t*]; and this indeed is one of the inconveniences to

[*s*] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the Article ABELARD.—GERVAIS, *Vie d'Abelard et d'Heloiſe.*—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 63. 84. 324. 395.—MARTENE, *Theſaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1139.

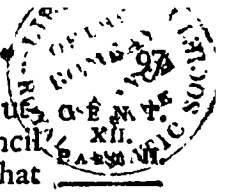
☞ [*t*] He affirmed, for example, among other things equally unintelligible and extravagant, that the names *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghoſt*, were improper terms, and were only uſed to expreſs the *fullneſs of the ſovereign good*; that the *Father* was the *plenitude of power*, the *Son* a *certain power*, and the *Holy Ghoſt* no *power* at all; that the *Holy Ghoſt* was the *ſoul of the world*, with other crude fancies of a like nature, mingled, however, with bold truths.

which ſubtile refinements upon myſterious doctrines frequently lead. But it is certain, on the other hand, that St. BERNARD, who had much more genius than logic, miſunderſtood ſome of the opinions of ABELARD, and wilfully perverted others. For the zeal of this good abbot too rarely permitted him to conſult in his deciſions the dictates of impartial equity; and hence it was, that he almoſt always applauded beyond meaſure, and cenſured without mercy [*u*].

XI. ABELARD was not the only ſcholaſtic divine who paid dear for his metaphyſical refinement upon the doctrines of the goſpel, and whoſe logic expoſed him to the unrelenting fury of perſecution; GILBERT DE LA POREE, biſhop of *Poitiers*, who had taught theology and philoſophy at *Paris*, and in other places, with the higheſt applauſe, met with the ſame fate. Unfortunately for him, ARNOLD and CALO, two of his archdeacons, who had been educated in the principles of the ancient theology, heard him one day diſputing, with more ſubtilty than was meet, concerning the divine nature. Alarmed at the novelty of his doctrine, they brought a charge of blaſphemy againſt him before pope EUGENIUS III., who was at that time in *France*; and, to give weight to their accuſation, they gained over St. BERNARD, and engaged him in their cauſe. The zealous abbot treated the matter with his uſual

[*u*] See GERVAIS, *Vie d'Abelard*, tom. ii. p. 162.—LE CLERC, *Biblioth. Ancienne et Moderne*, tom. ix, p. 352.—DIONYS. PETAV. *Dogmata Theolog.* tom. i. lib. v. cap. vi. p. 217. as alſo the works of BERNARD, *paſſim*. ABELARD, who, notwithſtanding all his crude notions, was a man of true genius, was undoubtedly worthy of a better fate than that which fell to his lot, and of a more enlightened age than that in which he lived. After paſſing through the furnace of perſecution, and having ſuffered afflictions of various kinds, of which he has tranſmitted the hiſtory to poſterity, he retired to the monaſtery of *Clugni*, where he ended his days in the year 1142.

vehemence,



vehemence, and oppoſed GILBERT with the moſt ſeverity and bitterneſs, firſt in the council of *Paris*, A. D. 1147, and afterwards in that which was aſſembled at *Rheims* the year following. In this latter council the accuſed biſhop, in order to put an end to the diſpute, offered to ſubmit his opinions to the judgment of the aſſembly, and of the Roman pontif, by whom they were condemned. The errors attributed to GILBERT were the fruits of an exceſſive ſubtilty, and of an extravagant paſſion for reducing the doctrines of Chriſtianity under the empire of metaphyſic and dialectic. He diſtinguiſhed the divine *eſſence* from the *Deity*, the *properties* of the three divine perſons from the *perſons* themſelves, not in reality, but by abſtraction, in *ſtatu rationis*, as the metaphyſicians ſpeak; and, in conſequence of theſe diſtinctions, he denied the incarnation of the divine nature. To theſe he added other opinions, derived from the ſame ſource, which were rather vain, fanciful, and adapted to excite ſurpriſe by their novelty, than glaringly falſe, or really pernicious. Theſe refined notions were far above the comprehenſion of good St. BERNARD, who was by no means accuſtomed to ſuch profound diſquiſitions, to ſuch intricate reſearches [*w*].

XII. The important ſcience of morals was not now in a very flouriſhing ſtate, as may be eaſily imagined when we conſider the genius and ſpirit of that philoſophy, which, in this century, reduced all the other ſciences under its dominion, and of which we have given ſome account in the preceding ſections. The only moral writer

The ſtate of moral and practical theology.

[*w*] See DU BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 223. 232.—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedictin.* tom. vi. p. 343. 415. 433.—*Gallia Chriſtiana Benedictin.* tom. ii. p. 1175.—MATTH. PARIS, *Hiſtor. Major*, p. 56.—PETAVII *Dogmata Theologica*, tom. i. lib. i. cap. viii.—LONGUEVAL, *Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe Gallicane*, tom. ix. p. 147.

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among the Greeks, who is worthy of mention, is PHILIP, ſurnamed the *Solitary*, whoſe book intitled *Dioptra*, which conſiſts in a dialogue between the body and the ſoul, is compoſed with judgment and elegance, and contains many things proper to nouriſh pious and virtuous ſentiments.

The Latin Moraliſts of this age may be divided into two claſſes, the *ſcholaſtics* and *myſtics*. The former diſcourſed about virtue, as they did about truth, in the moſt unfeeling jargon, and generally ſubjoined their arid ſyſtem of morals to what they called their *didactic theology*. The latter treated the duties of morality in a quite different manner; their language was tender, perſuaſive, and affecting, and their ſentiments often beautiful and ſublime; but they taught in a confuſed and irregular manner, without method or preciſion, and frequently mixed the droſs of Platoniſm with the pure treaſures of celeſtial truth.

We might alſo place in the claſs of moral writers the greateſt part of the commentators and expoſitors of this century, who, laying aſide all attention to the ſignification of the words uſed by the ſacred writers, and ſcarcely ever attempting to illuſtrate the truths they reveal, or the events which they relate, turned, by forced and allegorical explications, every paſſage of ſcripture to practical uſes, and drew leſſons of morality from every quarter. We could produce many inſtances of this way of commenting beſides GUIBERT's *Moral Obſervations on the book of Job, the Prophecy of Amos, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah.*

Polemic writers.

XIII. Both Greeks and Latins were ſeized with that enthuſiaſtic paſſion for dialectical reſearches, that raged in this century, and were thereby rendered extremely fond of captious queſtions and theological conteſts, while, at the ſame time, the love

love of controverſy ſeduced them from the paths that lead to truth, and involved them in labyrinths of uncertainty and error. The diſcovery of truth was not, indeed, the great object they had in view; their principal deſign was to puzzle and embarraſs their adverſaries, and overwhelm them with an enormous heap of fine-ſpun diſtinctions, an impetuous torrent of words without meaning, a long liſt of formidable authorities, and a ſpecious train of fallacious conſequences embelliſhed with railings and invectives. The principal polemic writers among the Greeks were CONSTANTINUS HARMENOPULUS, and EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS. The former publiſhed a ſhort treatiſe *De Sectis Hæreticorum, i. e.* concerning the *Heretical Sects*. The latter, in a long and laboured work, entitled *Panoplia*, attacked all the various hereſies and errors that troubled the church; but, not to mention the extreme levity and credulity of this writer, his manner of diſputing was highly defective, and all his arguments, according to the wretched method that now prevailed, were drawn from the writings of the ancient doctors, whoſe authority ſupplied the place of evidence. Both theſe authors were ſharply cenſured in a ſatirical poem compoſed by ZONARAS. The Latin writers were alſo employed in various branches of religious controverſy. HONORIUS of *Autun* wrote againſt certain hereſies; and ABELARD combated them all. The Jews, whoſe credit was now entirely ſunk; and whoſe circumſtances were miſerable in every reſpect, were refuted by GILBERT DE CASTILIONE, ODO, PETRUS ALFONSUS, RUPERT of *Duytz*, PETRUS MAURITIUS, RICHARDUS A STO. VICTORE, and PETRUS BLESENSIS, according to the logic of the times, and EUTHYMIUS, with ſeveral other divines, directed their polemic force againſt the Saracens.

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The conteſt between the Greeks and Latins continued.

XIV. The conteſt between the Greeks and Latins, the ſubject of which has been already mentioned, was ſtill carried on by both parties with the greateſt obſtinacy and vehemence. The Grecian champions were EUTHYMIUS, NICETAS, and others of leſs renown, while the cauſe of the Latins was vigorouſly maintained by ANSELM, biſhop of *Havelſberg*, and HUGO ETHERIANUS, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves eminently by their erudition in this famous controverſy [x]. Many attempts were made both at *Rome* and *Conſtantinople*, to reconcile theſe differences, and to heal theſe fatal diviſions; and this union was ſolicited, in a particular manner, by the emperors in the Comnene family, who expected to draw much advantage from the friendſhip and alliance of the Latins, towards the ſupport of the Grecian empire, which was at this time in a declining, nay, almoſt in a deſperate condition. But as the Latins aimed at nothing leſs than a deſpotic ſupremacy over the Greek church, and as, on the other hand, the Grecian biſhops could by no means be induced to yield an implicit obedience to the Roman pontif, or to condemn the meaſures and proceedings of their anceſtors, the negociations, undertaken for the reſtoration of peace, widened the breach inſtead of healing it, and the terms propoſed on both ſides, but eſpecially by the Latins, exaſperated, inſtead of calming, the reſentments and animoſities of the contending parties.

Matters of leſs moment controverted among the Greeks.

XV. Many controverſies of inferior moment were carried on among the Greeks, who were extremely fond of diſputing, and were ſcarcely ever without debates upon religious matters. We ſhall not enter into a circumſtantial narration of theſe theological conteſts, which are more proper

[x] See LEO ALLATIUS *De perpetua conſenſione Eccleſiæ Orientalis et Occidentis*, lib. ii. cap. xi. p. 644.

to

to fatigue than to amuſe or inſtruct, but ſhall confine ourſelves to a brief mention of thoſe which made the greateſt noiſe in the empire. Under the reign of EMANUEL COMNENUS, whoſe extenſive learning was accompanied with an exceſſive curioſity, ſeveral theological controverſies were carried on, in which he himſelf bore a principal part, and which fomented ſuch diſcords and animoſities among a people already exhauſted and dejected by inteſtine tumults, as threatened their deſtruction. The firſt queſtion that exerciſed the metaphyſical talent of this over-curious emperor and his ſubtile doctors was this: *In what ſenſe it was or might be affirmed, that an incarnate God was at the ſame time the* OFFERER *and the* OBLATION? When this knotty queſtion had been long debated, and the emperor had maintained, for a conſiderable time, the ſolution of it that was contrary to the opinion generally received, he yielded at length, and embraced the popular notion of that unintelligible ſubject. The conſequence of this ſtep was, that many men of eminent abilities and great credit, who had differed from the doctrine of the church upon this article, were deprived of their honours and employments [*y*]. What the emperor's opinion of this matter was, we find nowhere related in a ſatisfactory manner, and we are equally ignorant of the ſentiments adopted by the church in relation to this queſtion. It is highly probable that the emperor, followed by certain learned doctors, differed from the opinions generally received among the Greeks concerning the Lord's ſupper, and the *oblation* or ſacrifice of CHRIST in that holy ordinance.

XVI. Some years after this, a ſtill more warm conteſt aroſe concerning the ſenſe of thoſe words of CHRIST, *John* xiv. 28. *For my Father is greater*

The Greeks diſpute concerning the words of Chriſt, *John* xiv. 28.

[*y*] NICETAS CHONIATES, *Annal. Lib.* vii. § 5. p. 112. ed. *Venetæ*.

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than I, and divided the Greeks into the moſt bitter and deplorable factions. To the ancient explications of that important paſſage new illuſtrations were now added; and the emperor himſelf, who, from an indifferent prince, was become a wretched divine, publiſhed an expoſition of that remarkable text, which he obtruded, as the only true ſenſe of the words, upon a council aſſembled for that purpoſe, and was deſirous of having received as a rule of faith by all the Grecian clergy. He maintained, that the words in queſtion related to the *fleſh that was hid in Chriſt, and that was paſſible, i. e.* ſubject to ſuffering [z], and not only ordered this deciſion to be engraven on tables of ſtone in the principal church of *Conſtantinople,* but alſo publiſhed an edict, in which capital puniſhments were denounced againſt all ſuch as ſhould preſume to oppoſe this explication, or teach any doctrine repugnant to it [a]. This edict, however, expired with the emperor by whom it was iſſued out, and ANDRONICUS, upon his acceſſion to the imperial throne, prohibited all thoſe conteſts concerning ſpeculative points of theology, that aroſe from an irregular and wanton curioſity, and ſuppreſſed, in a more particular manner, all iniquiry into the ſubject now mentioned, by enacting the ſevereſt penalties againſt ſuch as ſhould in any way contribute to revive this diſpute [b].

Concerning the God of Mahomet.

XVII. The ſame theological emperor troubled the church with another controverſy concerning the God of MAHOMET. The Greek Catechiſms pronounced *anathema* againſt the Deity worſhipped by that falſe prophet, whom they repreſented as a *ſolid* and *ſpherical Being* [c]; for ſo they tranſ-

[z] Καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ κλιστὴν καὶ παθητὴν σάρκα.
[a] NICETAS CHONIATES, *Annal.* lib. vii. § 6. p. 113.
[b] NICETAS *in Andronico,* lib. ii. § 5. p. 175.
[c] Ὁλόσφαιρον.

lated

lated the Arabian word *elſemed*, which is applied in the *koran* to the Supreme Being, and which indeed is ſuſceptible of that ſenſe, though it alſo ſignifies *eternal* [*d*]. The emperor ordered this *anathema* to be effaced in the Catechiſm of the Greek church, on account of the high offence it gave to the Mahometans, who had either been already converted to Chriſtianity, or were diſpoſed to embrace that divine religion, and who were extremely ſhocked at ſuch an inſult offered to the name of God, with whatever reſtrictions and conditions it might be attended. The Chriſtian doctors, on the other hand, oppoſed with much reſolution and vehemence this imperial order. They obſerved that the *anathema*, pronounced in the Catechiſm, had no relation to the nature of God in general, nor to the true God in particular; and that, on the contrary, it was ſolely directed againſt the error of MAHOMET, againſt that phantom of a divinity which he had imagined. For that impoſtor pretended that the Deity could neither be *engendered* nor *engender*; whereas the Chriſtians adore God the *Father*. After the bittereſt diſputes concerning this abſtruſe ſubject, and various efforts to reconcile the contending parties, the biſhops, aſſembled in council, conſented, though with the utmoſt difficulty, to transfer the *imprecation* of the Catechiſm from the God of MAHOMET, to MAHOMET himſelf, his doctrine, and his ſect [*e*].

The controverſy concerning the Lord's ſupper is carried on among the Latins.

XVIII. The ſpirit of controverſy raged among the Latins, as well as among the Greeks, and various ſentiments concerning the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper were propagated, not only in the ſchools, but alſo in the writings of the learned. For though all the doctors of the church were

[*d*] RELAND. *De Religione Mohammedica*, lib. ii. § 3. p. 142.
[*e*] NICETÆ CHON. *Annales*, lib. vii. p. 113—116.

now extremely desirous of being looked upon as enemies to the system of BERENGER, yet many of them, and among others [f] RUPERT of *Duytz*, differed very little from the sentiments of that great man; at least, it is certain, that notwithstanding the famous controversy which had arisen in the church concerning the opinions of BERENGER, nothing was, as yet, precisely determined with respect to the manner of CHRIST's presence in the eucharist.

RUPERT had also religious contests of another nature with ANSELM, bishop of *Laon*, WILLIAM of *Champeaux*, and their disciples and followers, who maintained their doctrine when they were no more. The *divine will* and the *divine omnipotence* were the subjects of this controversy, and the question debated was, "Whether God *really willed*, and *actually produced* all things that exist, or whether there are certain things whose existence he *merely permits*, and whose production, instead of being the *effect of his will*, was contrary to it?" The affirmative of the latter part of this question was maintained by RUPERT, while his adversaries held that all things were the effects not only of the *divine power*, but also of the *divine will*. This learned abbot was also accused of having taught that the *angels were formed out of darkness*; that CHRIST *did not administer his body to* JUDAS *in the last supper*; and several other doctrines [g], contrary to the received opinions of the church.

As also that concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.

XIX. These and other controversies of a more private kind, which made little noise in the world, were succeeded, about the year 1140, by one of a more public nature, concerning, what was

[f] BOULAY, *Histor. Academ. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 30.

[g] See MENGOZ. *Epistola*, published by MERTENE, in his *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 290.—JO. MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 19, 20. 42. 168. 261.

called,

called, the *Immaculate conception of the Virgin* MARY [*b*]. Certain churches in *France* began, about that time, to celebrate the feſtival conſecrated to this pretended *conception*, which the Engliſh had obſerved before this period in conſequence of the exhortations of ANSELM, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as ſome authors report. The church of *Lions* was one of the firſt that adopted this new feſtival, which no ſooner came to the knowledge of St. BERNARD, than he ſeverely cenſured the Canons of *Lions* on account of this innovation, and oppoſed the *Immaculate conception of the Virgin* with the greateſt vigour, as it ſuppoſed her being honoured with a privilege which belonged to CHRIST alone. Upon this a warm conteſt aroſe; ſome ſiding with the Canons of *Lions*, and adopting the new feſtival, while others adhered to the ſentiments of St. BERNARD [*i*]. The controverſy, however, notwithſtanding the zeal of the contending parties, was carried on, during this century, with a certain degree of decency and moderation. But, in after-times, when the Dominicans were eſtabliſhed in the academy of *Paris*, the conteſt was renewed with the greateſt vehemence, and the ſame ſubject was debated, on both ſides, with the utmoſt animoſity and contention of mind. The Dominicans declared for St. BERNARD, while the academy patronized the Canons of *Lions*, and adopted the new feſtival.

☞ [*b*] The defenders of this *Immaculate Conception* maintained, that the Virgin MARY was *conceived* in the womb of her mother with the ſame *purity* that is attributed to CHRIST's conception in her womb.

[*i*] STI. BERNARDI *Epiſtola* 174. tom. i. p. 170.—BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 135.—MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 327.—DOM. COLONIA, *Hiſt. Litt. de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 233.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies uſed in the church during this century.

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Rites uſed in the Greek church.

I. THE rites and ceremonies uſed in divine worſhip, both public and private, were now greatly augmented among the Greeks, and the ſame ſuperſtitious paſſion for the introduction of new obſervances, diſcovered itſelf in all the eaſtern churches. The Grecian, Neſtorian, and Jacobite pontifs, that were any way remarkable for their credit or ambition, were deſirous of tranſmitting their names to poſterity by the invention of ſome new rite, or by ſome ſtriking change introduced into the method of worſhip that had hitherto prevailed. This was, indeed, almoſt the only way left to diſtinguiſh themſelves in an age, where all ſenſe of the excellence of genuine religion and ſubſtantial piety being almoſt totally loſt, the whole care and attention of an oſtentatious clergy, and a ſuperſtitious multitude, were employed upon that round of external ceremonies and obſervances that were ſubſtituted in their place. Thus ſome attempted, though in vain, to render their names immortal, by introducing a new method of reading or reciting the prayers of the church; others changed the church muſic; others again tortured their inventions to find out ſome new mark of veneration, that might be offered to the relics and images of the ſaints; while ſeveral eccleſiaſtics did not diſdain to employ their time, with the moſt ſerious aſſiduity, in embelliſhing the garments of the clergy, and in forming the motions and poſtures they were to obſerve, and the looks they were to aſſume, in the celebration of divine worſhip.

II.

The Latin ritual.

II. We may learn from the book *De divinis officiis*, compoſed by the famous RUPERT, or ROBERT, of *Duytz*, what were the rites in uſe among the Latins during this century, as alſo the reaſons on which they were founded. According to the plan we follow, we cannot here enlarge upon the additions that were made to the doctrinal part of religion. We ſhall therefore only obſerve, that the enthuſiaſtic veneration for the Virgin MARY, which had been hitherto carried to ſuch an exceſſive height, increaſed now inſtead of diminiſhing, ſince her dignity was at this time conſiderably augmented by the new fiction or invention relating to her *immaculate conception*. For though, as we obſerved in the preceding chapter, St. BERNARD and others oppoſed with vigour this chimerical notion, yet their efforts were counteracted by the ſuperſtitious fury of the deluded multitude, whoſe judgment prevailed over the counſels of the wiſe. So that, about the year 1138, there was a ſolemn feſtival inſtituted in honour of this pretended *conception*, though we know not, with any degree of certainty, by whoſe authority it was firſt eſtabliſhed, nor in what place it was firſt celebrated [*k*].

CHAP. V.

Concerning the diviſions and hereſies that troubled the church during this century.

Fanatics of different kinds infeſt the Greek church.

I. THE Greek and eaſtern churches were infeſted with fanatics of different kinds, who gave them much trouble, and engaged them in the moſt warm and violent conteſts. Certain

[*k*] MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 327. 412.—*Gallia Chriſtiana*, tom. i. p. 1198.

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of theſe fanatics profeſſed to believe in a double trinity, rejected wedlock, abſtained from fleſh, treated with the utmoſt contempt the ſacraments of baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper, as alſo all the various branches of external worſhip, placed the eſſence of religion in internal prayer alone, and maintained, as it is ſaid, that an evil being, or genius, dwelt in the breaſt of every mortal, and could be expelled from thence by no other method, than by perpetual ſupplications to the Supreme Being. The founder of this enthuſiaſtical ſect is ſaid to have been a perſon called LUCOPETRUS. His chief diſciple was named TYCHICUS, who corrupted, by falſe and fanatical interpretations, ſeveral books of the ſacred writings, and particularly the *Goſpel according to St. Matthew* [*l*]. It is well known, that enthuſiaſts of this kind, who were rather wrong-headed than vicious, lived among the Greeks and Syrians, and more eſpecially among the monks, for many ages before this period, and alſo in this century. The accounts, indeed, that have been given of them, are not in all reſpects to be depended upon; and there are ſeveral circumſtances which render it extremely probable, that many perſons of eminent piety, and zeal for genuine Chriſtianity, were confounded by the Greeks with theſe enthuſiaſts, and ranked in the liſt of heretics, merely on account of their oppoſing the vicious practices and the inſolent tyranny of the prieſthood, and their treating with deriſion that motley ſpectacle of ſuperſtition that was ſupported by public authority. In *Greece*, and in all the eaſtern provinces, this ſort of men were diſtinguiſhed by the general and invidious appellation of *Maſſalians*, or *Eu-*

[*l*] See EUTHYMII *Triumphus de Secta Maſſalianorum* in JAC. TOLLII *Inſignibus Itineris Italici*, p. 106—125.

chites [*m*], as the Latins comprehended all the adverſaries of the Roman pontif under the general terms of *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes*. It is, however, neceſſary to obſerve, that the names above mentioned were very vague and ambiguous in the way they were applied by the Greeks and the Orientals, who made uſe of them to characterize, without diſtinction, all ſuch as complained of the multitude of uſeleſs ceremonies, and of the vices of the clergy, without any regard to the difference that there was between ſuch perſons in point of principles and morals. In ſhort, the righteous and the profligate, the wiſe and the fooliſh, were equally comprehended under the name of Maſſalians, whenever they oppoſed the raging ſuperſtition of the times, or looked upon true and genuine piety as the eſſence of the Chriſtian character.

The Bogomiles.

II. From the ſect now mentioned, that of the *Bogomiles* is ſaid to have proceeded, whoſe founder BASILIUS, a monk by profeſſion, was burnt at *Conſtantinople*, under the reign of ALEXIUS COMNENUS, after all attempts to make him renounce his errors had proved ineffectual. By the accounts we have of this unhappy man, and of the errors he taught, it appears ſufficiently evident,

☞ [*m*] *Maſſalians* and *Euchites* are denominations that ſignify the ſame thing, and denote, the one in the Hebrew, and the other in the Greek language, *perſons that pray*. A ſect, under this denomination, aroſe during the reign of the emperor CONSTANTIUS, about the year 361, founded by certain monks of *Meſopotamia*, who dedicated themſelves wholly to prayer, and held many of the doctrines attributed by Dr. MOSHEIM to the Maſſalians of the twelfth century. See AUGUST. *De Hæreſ.* cap. lvii. and THEOD. *Hæret. Fab.* lib. iv. EPIPHANIUS ſpeaks of another ſort of *Maſſalians* ſtill more ancient, who were mere Gentiles, acknowledged ſeveral gods, yet adored only one whom they called *Almighty*, and had oratories in which they aſſembled to pray and ſing hymns. This reſemblance between the Maſſalians and Eſſenes, induced SCALIGER to think that EPIPHANIUS confounded the former with the latter.

that

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that his doctrine reſembled, in a ſtriking manner, the religious ſyſtem of the ancient Gnoſtics and Manichæans; though, at the ſame time, it is poſſible that the Greeks may have falſified his tenets in ſome reſpects. BASILIUS maintained, that the world and all animal bodies were formed not by the Deity, but by an evil demon, who had been caſt down from heaven by the Supreme Being; from whence he concluded, that the body was no more than the priſon of the immortal ſpirit, and that it was, therefore, to be enervated by faſting, contemplation, and other exerciſes, that ſo the ſoul might be gradually reſtored to its primitive liberty; for this purpoſe alſo wedlock was to be avoided, with many other circumſtances which we have often had occaſion to explain and repeat in the courſe of this hiſtory. It was in conſequence of the ſame principles, that this unfortunate enthuſiaſt denied the *reality* of CHRIST's body, which, like the Gnoſtics and Manichæans, he conſidered only as a phantom, rejected the law of MOSES, and maintained that the body, upon its ſeparation by death, returned to the malignant maſs of matter, without either the proſpect or poſſibility of a future reſurrection to life and felicity. We have ſo many examples of fanatics of this kind in the records of ancient times, and alſo in the hiſtory of this century, that it is by no means to be wondered, that ſome one of them more enterpriſing than the reſt ſhould found a ſect among the Greeks. The name of this ſect was taken from the *divine mercy*, which its members are ſaid to have inceſſantly implored; for the word *bogomilus*, in the Myſian language, ſignifies *calling out for mercy from above* [*n*].

III.

[*n*] See ANNA COMNENA *Alexiados*, lib. xv. p. 384. edit. *Venetæ*.—ZONARAS *Annalium*, lib. xviii. p. 336.—Jo. CHRIST. WOLF, *Hiſtoria Bogomilorum*, publiſhed at *Witteberg*, in 4to, 1712.—

III. The Latin ſects were yet more numerous than thoſe of the Greeks, and this will not appear at all ſurpriſing to ſuch as conſider the ſtate of religion in the greateſt part of the European provinces. The reign of ſuperſtition, the vices of the clergy, the luxury and indolence of the pontifs and biſhops, the encouragement of impiety by the traffic of *indulgences*, increaſing from day to day, ſeveral pious, though weak men, who had the cauſe of CHRIST and of his religion at heart, eaſily perceived that both were in a moſt declining and miſerable ſtate, and therefore attempted a reformation in the church, in order to reſtore Chriſtianity to its primitive purity and luſtre. But the knowledge of theſe good men was not equal to their zeal, nor were their abilities in any proportion to the grandeur of their undertakings. The greateſt part of them were deſtitute both of learning and judgment, and, involved in the general ignorance of the times, underſtood but very imperfectly the holy ſcriptures, from whence Chriſtianity was derived, and by which the abuſes that had been mingled with it could only be reformed. In a word, few of theſe well-meaning Chriſtians were equal to an attempt ſo difficult and arduous as an univerſal reformation; and the conſequence of this was, that while they avoided the reigning abuſes, they fell into others that were as little conſiſtent with the genius of true religion, and carried the ſpirit of cenſure and reformation to ſuch an exceſſive length, that it degenerated often into the various extravagancies of enthuſiaſm, and engendered a number of new ſects, that became a new diſhonour to the Chriſtian cauſe.

The Latin ſects, and the abuſes from whence they ſprung.

1712.—SAM. ANDREÆ *Diſſ. Bogomilis* in JO. VOIGTII *Bibliotheca Hiſtoriæ Hæreſiologicæ*, tom. i. part II. p. 121. CHR. AUG. HEUMANNI *Diſſertat. de Bogomilis.*

IV.

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The Cathari.

IV. Among the ſects that troubled the Latin church during this century, the principal place is due to the *Catharists*, whom we have had already occaſion to mention [*o*]. This numerous faction, leaving their firſt reſidence, which was in *Bulgaria*, ſpread themſelves throughout almoſt all the European provinces, where they occaſioned much tumult and diſorder; but their fate was unhappy; for, wherever they were caught, they were put to death with the moſt unrelenting cruelty [*p*]. Their religion reſembled the doctrine of the Manichæans and Gnoſtics, on which account they commonly received the denomination of the former, though they differed from the genuine and primitive Manichæans in many reſpects. They all indeed agreed in the following points of doctrine: *viz.* That matter was the ſource of all evil; that the Creator of this world was a being diſtinct from the Supreme Deity; that CHRIST was not cloathed with a real body, neither could be properly ſaid to have been born, or to have ſeen death; that human bodies were the production of the evil principle; and that baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper were uſeleſs inſtitutions, deſtitute of all efficacy and power. They exhorted all who embraced their doctrine to a rigorous abſtinence from animal food, wine, and wedlock, and recommended to them in the moſt pathetic terms the moſt ſevere acts of auſterity and mortification. They moreover treated with the utmoſt contempt all the books of the *Old Teſtament*, but expreſſed a high degree of veneration for the *New*, particularly for the *Four Goſpels*;

[*o*] See CENT. III. PART II. CH. V. § XVIII. but principally for that ſort of *Catharists* here mentioned, ſee above CENT. XI. PART II. CH. V. § II.

[*p*] See the accounts given of this unhappy and perſecuted ſect by CHARLES PLESSIS D'ARGENTRE, in his *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. i. in which, however, ſeveral circumſtances are omitted.

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and, to paſs over many other peculiarities in their doctrine, they maintained, that human ſouls, endued with reaſon, were ſhut up by an unhappy fate in the dungeons of mortal bodies, from whence they could only be delivered by faſting, mortification, and continence of every kind [*q*].

The Catharists divided into two ſects.

V. Theſe principles and tenets, though they were adopted and profeſſed by the whole ſect, yet were differently interpreted and modified by different doctors. Hence the *Catharists* were divided into various ſects, which, however, on account of the general perſecution in which they were all involved, treated each other with candour and forbearance, diſputed with moderation, and were thus careful not to augment their common calamity by inteſtine feuds and animoſities. Out of theſe different factions aroſe two leading and principal ſects of the *Catharists*, which were diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by the number of their reſpective followers, and the importance of their differences. The one approached pretty nearly to the Manichæan ſyſtem, held the doctrine of *two eternal Beings*, from whom all things are derived, the *God of light*, who was alſo the father of JESUS CHRIST, and the *principle of darkneſs*, whom they conſidered as the author of the material world. The other believed in *one eternal principle*, the FATHER of CHRIST, and the Supreme God, by whom alſo they held that the *firſt matter* was created; but they added to this, that the *evil being*, after his rebellion againſt God and his fall from heaven, arranged this original matter according to his fancy, and divided it into four elements, in order to the production of this viſible

[*q*] Beſides the writers which ſhall be mentioned preſently, ſee the *Diſputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum*, publiſhed by MARTENE, in his *Theſaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1703. as alſo BONACURSI *Manifeſtatio Hæreſis Catharorum* in LUC. DACHERII *Spicilegio*, tom. i. p. 208.

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world. The former maintained, that CHRIST being cloathed with a celeſtial body deſcended thus into the womb of the Virgin, and derived no part of his ſubſtance from her; while the latter taught, that he firſt aſſumed a real body *in* the womb of MARY, though not *from* her [*r*]. The ſect, which held the doctrine of *two principles*, were called *Albanenſes*, from the name of the place where their ſpiritual ruler reſided; and this ſect was ſubdivided into two, of which one took the name of BALAZINANSA, biſhop of *Verona*, and the other that of JOHN DE LUGIO, biſhop of *Bergamo*. The ſect which adhered to the doctrine of *one eternal principle* was alſo ſubdivided into the congregation of *Baioli*, the capital town of the province, and that of *Concoregio*, or *Concorezzo*. The *Albigenſes*, who were ſettled in *France*, belonged to the church or congregation of *Baioli* [*s*].

VI. In the internal conſtitution of the church that was founded by this ſect, there were many rules and principles of a ſingular nature, which

[*r*] See BERN. MONETA, *in ſumma adverſus Catharos et Waldenſes*, publiſhed at *Rome*, in the year 1743, by THOM. AUGUST. RICHINI, who prefixed to it a diſſertation concerning the *Cathari*, that is by no means worthy of the higheſt encomiums. MONETA was no mean writer for the time in which he lived. See *Lib.* i. p. 2. & 5. *Lib.* ii. p. 247, &c.

[*s*] RAINERI SACHONI *ſumma de Catharis et Leoniſtis* in MARTENE *Theſaur. Anecdot.* tom. v. p. 1761. 1768.—PEREGRINUS PRESCIANUS in MURATORII *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 93. who exhibits, in a ſort of table, theſe different ſects, but by a miſtake places the *Albigenſes*, who were a branch of the *Baiolenſes*, in the place of the *Albanenſes*; this, perhaps, may be an error of the preſs. The opinions of theſe *Baiolenſes*, or *Bagnolenſes*, may be ſeen in the *Codex Inquiſitionis Toloſanæ*, which LIMBORCH publiſhed with his *Hiſtory of the Inquiſition*. The account, however, which we have in that hiſtory (*Book* I. *Ch.* VIII.) of the opinions of the Albigenſes is by no means accurate. A great variety of cauſes has contributed to involve in darkneſs and perplexity the diſtinctive characters of theſe different ſects, whoſe reſpective ſyſtems we cannot enlarge upon at preſent.

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we paſs over in ſilence, as they would oblige us to enter into a detail inconſiſtent with the brevity we propoſe to obſerve in this work. The government of this church was adminiſtered by *biſhops*, and each biſhop had two vicars, of whom one was called the *eldeſt ſon*, and the other the *younger*; while the reſt of the clergy and doctors were comprehended under the general denomination of *deacons* [*t*]. The veneration, which the people had for the clergy in general, and more eſpecially for the biſhops and their ſpiritual ſons, was carried to a length that almoſt exceeds credibility. The diſcipline obſerved by this ſect was ſo exceſſively rigid and auſtere, that it was practicable only by a certain number of robuſt and determined fanatics. But that ſuch as were not able to undergo this diſcipline might not, on that account, be loſt to the cauſe, it was thought neceſſary, in imitation of the ancient Manichæans, to divide this ſect into two claſſes, one of which was diſtinguiſhed by the title of the *conſolati, i. e. comforted*, while the other received only the denomination of *confederates*. The former gave themſelves out for perſons of conſummate wiſdom and extraordinary piety, lived in perpetual celibacy, and led a life of the ſevereſt mortification and abſtinence, without ever allowing themſelves the enjoyment of any worldly comfort. The latter, if we except a few particular rules which they obſerved, lived like the reſt of mankind, but at the ſame time were obliged by a ſolemn agreement they had made with the church, and which, in Italian, they called *la convenenza*, to enter before their death, in their laſt moments, if not ſooner, into the claſs of the *comforted*, and to receive the *conſolamentum*, which was the form

[*t*] See SACHONI *ſumma de Catharis*, p. 1766.

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of inauguration by which they were introduced into that fanatical order [*u*].

The Petrobruſſians.

VII. A much more rational ſect was that which was founded about the year 1110 in *Languedoc* and *Provence* by PETER DE BRUYS, who made the moſt laudable attempts to reform the abuſes and to remove the ſuperſtitions that disfigured the beautiful ſimplicity of the goſpel, and after having engaged in his cauſe a great number of followers, during a laborious miniſtry of twenty years continuance, was burnt at *St. Giles*'s, in the year 1130, by an enraged populace, ſet on by the clergy, whoſe traffic was in danger from the enterpriſing ſpirit of this new reformer. The whole ſyſtem of doctrine, which this unhappy martyr, whoſe zeal was not without a conſiderable mixture of fanaticiſm, taught to the *Petrobruſſians* his diſciples, is not known; it is however certain, that the five following tenets made a part of his ſyſtem; 1. That no perſons whatever, were to be baptized before they were come to the full uſe of their reaſon. 2. That it was an idle ſuperſtition to build churches for the ſervice of God, who will accept of a ſincere worſhip wherever it is offered; and that therefore ſuch churches as had already been erected were to be pulled down and deſtroyed. 3. That the crucifixes, as inſtruments of ſuperſtition, deſerved the ſame fate. 4. That the real body and blood of Chriſt were not exhibited in the euchariſt, but were merely repreſented, in that holy ordinance, by their figures and ſymbols. 5. and laſtly, That the oblations, prayers, and good works of the living, could be, in no reſpect advantageous to the dead [*w*].

VIII.

[*u*] For a further account of this ſect, ſee the writers mentioned above, and particularly the *Codex Inquiſitionis Tholoſanæ*.

[*w*] See PETRI *Venerab. Lib. contra Petrobruſſianos in Bibliothecâ Clunienſi*, p. 1117.—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom.

The Henricians.

VIII. This Innovator was ſucceeded by another, who was an Italian by birth, and whoſe name was HENRY, the founder and parent of the ſect called *Henricians*. It was, no doubt, a rare thing to ſee a perſon, who was at the ſame time monk and hermit, undertaking to reform the ſuperſtitions of the times; yet ſuch was the caſe of HENRY, who leaving *Lauſanne*, a city in *Switzerland*, travelled to *Mans*, and being baniſhed thence, removed ſucceſſively to *Poitiers*, *Bourdeaux*, and the countries adjacent, and at length to *Thouloufe* in the year 1147, exerciſing his miniſterial function in all theſe places with the utmoſt applauſe from the people, and declaiming, with the greateſt vehemence and fervour, againſt the vices of the clergy, and the ſuperſtitions they had introduced into the Chriſtian church. At *Thouloufe* he was warmly oppoſed by St. BERNARD, by whoſe influence he was overpowered, notwithſtanding his popularity, and obliged to ſave himſelf by flight. But being ſeized, in his retreat, by a certain biſhop, he was carried before pope EUGENIUS III., who preſided in perſon at a council then aſſembled at *Rheims*, and who, in conſequence of the accuſations brought againſt HENRY, committed him, in the year 1148, to a cloſe priſon, where, in a little time after this, he ended his days [x]. We have no accurate account of the doctrines of this reformer tranſmitted to our times. All we know of that matter is, that he rejected the baptiſm of infants; cenſured with ſeverity the corrupt and licentious

tom. vi. p. 346.—BASNAGE, *Hiſtoire des Egliſes Reformées*, period iv. p. 140.

[x] *Geſta-Epiſcoporum Cenomanenſ.* in MABILLON, *Analect. veter. ævi*, p. 315. ed. *Nov.*—GAUFRIDI *Epiſtola in Lib.* vi. *Vita Sti. Bernardi*, tom. ii. Opp. *Bernhard.* p. 1207.—MATTH. *Hiſtor. Major*, p. 71.—MABILLON, *Præf. ad Opera Bernhardi*, § vi. & *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 346. 420. 434.

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manners of the clergy; treated the feſtivals and ceremonies of the church with the utmoſt contempt; and held clandeſtine aſſemblies, in which he explained and inculcated the novelties he taught. Several writers affirm, that he was the diſciple of PETER DE BRUYS; but I cannot ſee upon what evidence or authority this aſſertion is grounded [*y*].

The horrid blaſphemy of Tanquelinus.

IX. While the Henricians were propagating their doctrines in *France*, a certain illiterate man, called TANQUELINUS, or TANQUELMUS, aroſe in *Brabant* about the year 1115, excited the moſt deplorable commotions at *Antwerp*, and drew after him a moſt numerous ſect. If the accounts that are given us of this hereſiarch by his adverſaries may be at all depended upon, he muſt either have been a monſtrous impoſtor, or an outrageous madman. For he walked in public with the greateſt ſolemnity, pretended to be God, or, at leaſt, the ſon of God, ordered daughters to be raviſhed in preſence of their mothers, and committed himſelf the greateſt diſorders. Such are the enormities that are attributed to TANQUELMUS, but they are abſolutely incredible, and therefore cannot be true [*z*]. What ſeems moſt worthy of credit in this matter is, that this new teacher had imbibed the opinions and ſpirit of the Myſtics; that he treated with contempt the

[*y*] That HENRY was the diſciple of PETER DE BRUYS is not at all probable; ſince, not to inſiſt upon other reaſons, the latter could not bear the ſight of a croſs, and in all likelihood owed his death to the multitude of crucifixes which he had committed to the flames: whereas the former, when he entered into any city, appeared with a croſs in his hand, which he bore as a ſtandard, to attract the veneration of the people. See MABILLON, *Analecta*, p. 316.

[*z*] *Epiſtola Trajectenſ. Eccleſiæ ad Tridericum Epiſcopum de Tanchelmo*, in SEL. TENGNAGELII *Collectione Veterum Monumenter.* p. 368.—BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 98.—ARGENTRE, *Collectio Judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 10.

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external worſhip of God, the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, and the rite of baptiſm; and held clandeſtine aſſemblies to propagate more effectually his viſionary notions. But as, beſides all this, he inveighed againſt the clergy, like the other heretics already mentioned, and declaimed againſt their vices with vehemence and intrepidity, it is probable that theſe blaſphemies were falſely charged upon him by a vindictive prieſthood. Be that as it may, the fate of TANQUELMUS was unhappy, for he was aſſaſſinated by an eccleſiaſtic in a cruel manner. His ſect, however, did not periſh with him, but acquired ſtrength and vigour under the miniſtry of his diſciples, until it was, at length, extinguiſhed by the famous St. NORBERT, the founder of the order of *Præmonſtratenſes*, or *Premontrés* [*a*.]

Seditions excited in *Italy* by Arnold of *Breſcia*.

X. In *Italy* ARNOLD of *Breſcia*, a diſciple of ABELARD, and a man of extenſive erudition and remarkable auſterity, but alſo of a turbulent and impetuous ſpirit, excited new troubles and commotions both in church and ſtate. He was, indeed, condemned in the council of the Lateran, A. D. 1139, by INNOCENT II., and thereby obliged to retire into *Switzerland*; but, upon the death of that pontif, he returned into *Italy*, and raiſed at *Rome*, during the pontificate of EUGENIUS III., ſeveral tumults and ſeditions among the people, who changed, by his inſtigation, the government of the city, and inſulted the perſons of the clergy in the moſt diſorderly manner. He fell however at laſt a victim to the vengeance of his enemies; for, after various turns of fortune, he was ſeized, in the year 1155, by a præfect of the city, by whom he was crucified, and afterwards burned to aſhes. This unhappy man ſeems

[*a*] LEWIS HUGO, *Vie de S. Norbert, livr.* II. p. 126.—CHRYS. vander STERRE *Vita S. Norberti*, cap. xxxvi. p. 164. & POLYC. de HERTOGHE, *ad illam Annotationes*, p. 387.

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not to have adopted any doctrines inconsistent with the spirit of true religion; and the principles upon which he acted were chiefly reprehensible from their being carried too far, applied without discernment and discretion, and executed with a degree of vehemence which was as criminal as it was imprudent. Having perceived the discords and animosities, the calamities and disorders, that sprung from the overgrown opulence of the pontifs and bishops, he was persuaded that the interests of the church, and the happiness of nations in general required, that the clergy should be divested of all their worldly possessions, of all their temporal rights and prerogatives. He, therefore, maintained publicly, that the treasures and revenues of popes, bishops, and monasteries, ought to be solemnly resigned and transferred to the supreme rulers of each state, and that nothing was to be left to the ministers of the gospel but a spiritual authority and a subsistence drawn from tythes, and from the voluntary oblations and contributions of the people [*b*]. This violent reformer, in whose character and manners there were several things worthy of esteem, drew after him a great number of disciples, who derived from him the denomination of *Arnoldists*, and, in succeeding times, discovered the spirit and intrepidity of their leader, as often as any favourable opportunities of reforming the church were offered to their zeal.

The origin and history of the Waldenses.

XI. Of all the sects that arose in this century none was more distinguished by the reputation it acquired, by the multitude of its votaries, and

[*b*] See OTTO *Frising. de gestis Frederici* I., lib. ii. cap. xx.—S. BERNHARDUS *Epist.* 195, 196. tom. i. p. 187.—BOULAY *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 157.—MURATORII *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiastique*, p. 137.—HENR. DE BUNAU *Vita Frederici* I., p. 41.—CHAUFEPIED *Nouveau Diction. Hist. Crit.* tom. ii. p. 482.

the

the teſtimony which its bittereſt enemies bore to the probity and innocence of its members, than that of the Waldenſes, ſo called from their parent and founder PETER WALDUS. This ſect was known by different denominations. From the place where it firſt appeared, its members were called *The poor men of Lions* [c], or *Leoniſts*, and, from the wooden ſhoes which its doctors wore, and a certain mark that was imprinted upon theſe ſhoes, they were called *Inſabbatati*, or *Sabbatati* [d]. The origin of this famous ſect was as follows: PETER, an opulent merchant of *Lions*, ſurnamed *Valdenſis*, or *Falidiſius*, from *Vaux*, or *Waldum*, a town in the marquiſate of *Lions*, being extremely zealous for the advancement of true piety and Chriſtian knowledge, employed a certain prieſt [e], about the year 1160, in tranſlating from Latin into French the *Four Goſpels*, with other books of Holy Scripture and the moſt remarkable ſentences of the ancient doctors, which were ſo highly eſteemed in this century. But no ſooner had he peruſed theſe ſacred books with a proper degree of attention, than he perceived that the religion, which was now taught in the Roman church, differed totally from that which

[c] They were called *Leoniſts* from *Leona*, the ancient name of *Lyons*, where their ſect took its riſe. The more eminent perſons of that ſect manifeſted their progreſs toward perfection by the ſimplicity and meanneſs of their external appearance. Hence, among other things, they wore wooden ſhoes, which in the French language are termed *ſabots*, and had imprinted upon theſe ſhoes the ſign of the croſs, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from other Chriſtians; and it was on theſe accounts that they acquired the denominations of *ſabbatati* and *inſabbatati*. See *Du Freſne Gloſſarium Latin. medii ævi*, vi. voce *Sabbatati*, p. 4.—NICOL. EYMERICI *Directorium Inquiſitorum*, part III. N. 112, &c.

[d] See STEPH. de BORBONE *De ſeptem donis ſpiritus ſancti*, in ECHARD & QUETIF *Bibliotheca Scriptor. Dominicanor.* tom. i. p. 192.—ANNONYM. *Tractatio de Hæreſi Pauperum de Lugduno*, in MARTENE *Theſauro Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1777.

[e] This prieſt was called STEPHANUS DE EVISA.

Was

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was originally inculcated by CHRIST and his apoſtles. Struck with this glaring contradiction between the doctrines of the pontifs and the truths of the goſpel, and animated with a pious zeal for promoting his own ſalvation and that of others, he abandoned his mercantile vocation, diſtributed his riches among the poor [*f*], and forming an aſſociation with other pious men, who had adopted his ſentiments and his turn of devotion, he began, in the year 1180, to aſſume the quality of a public teacher, and to inſtruct the multitude in the doctrines and precepts of Chriſtianity. The archbiſhop of *Lions*, and the other rulers of the church in that province, oppoſed, with vigour, this new doctor in the exerciſe of his miniſtry. But their oppoſition was unſucceſsful; for the purity and ſimplicity of that religion which theſe good men taught, the ſpotleſs innocence that ſhone forth in their lives and actions, and the noble contempt of riches and honours which was conſpicuous in the whole of their conduct and converſation, appeared ſo engaging to all ſuch as had any ſenſe of true piety, that the number of their diſciples and followers increaſed from day to day [*g*]. They accordingly formed religious aſſemblies,

[*f*] It was on this account that the Waldenſes were called *Pauvres de Lyons*, or *Poor men of Lyons*.

[*g*] Certain writers give different accounts of the origin of the *Waldenſes*, and ſuppoſe that they were ſo called from the *Vallies* in which they had reſided for many ages before the birth of PETER WALDUS. But theſe writers have no authority to ſupport this aſſertion, and, beſides this, they are refuted amply by the beſt hiſtorians. I don't mean to deny, that there were in the *Vallies of Piedmont*, long before this period, a ſet of men, who differed widely from the opinions adopted and inculcated by the church of *Rome*, and whoſe doctrine reſembled, in many reſpects, that of the Waldenſes; all that I maintain is, that theſe inhabitants of the *Vallies* abovementioned are to be carefully diſtinguiſhed from the Waldenſes, who, according to the unanimous voice of hiſtory, were originally inhabitants of *Lyons*, and derived their name from PETER WALDUS, their founder and

aſſemblies, firſt in *France*, and afterwards in *Lombardy*, from whence they propagated their ſect throughout the other provinces of *Europe* with incredible rapidity, and with ſuch invincible fortitude, that neither fire nor ſword, nor the moſt cruel inventions of mercileſs perſecution, could damp their zeal, or entirely ruin their cauſe [*b*]. XII.

and chief. ☞ We may venture to affirm the contrary, with the learned BEZA and other writers of note; for it ſeems evident from the beſt records, that VALDUS derived his name from the true *Valdenſes* of *Piedmont*, whoſe doctrine he adopted, and who were known by the names of *Vaudois* and *Valdenſes*, before he or his immediate followers exiſted. If the *Valdenſes* or *Waldenſes* had derived their name from any eminent teacher, it would probably have been from VALDO who was remarkable for the purity of his doctrine in the IXth century, and was the cotemporary and chief counſellor of BERENGARIUS. But the truth is, that they derive their name from their *Vallies* in *Piedmont*, which in their language are called *Vaux*, hence *Voidois*, their true name; hence PETER or (as others call him) John of *Lyons*, was called in Latin, *Valdus*, becauſe he had adopted their doctrine; and hence the term *Valdenſes* and *Waldenſes* uſed by thoſe, who write in Engliſh or Latin, in the place of *Vaudois*. The bloody Inquiſitor REINERUS SACCO, who exerted ſuch a furious zeal for the deſtruction of the *Waldenſes*, lived but about 80 years after *Valdus* of *Lyons*, and muſt therefore be ſuppoſed to know whether or not he was the real founder of the *Valdenſes* or *Leoniſts*; and yet it is remarkable that he ſpeaks of the *Leoniſts* (mentioned by Dr. MOSHEIM in the preceding page, as ſynonimous with Waldenſes) as a ſect that had flouriſhed above 500 years; nay mentions authors of note, who make their antiquity remount to the Apoſtolick age. See the account given of SACCO's book by the Jeſuit GRETSER, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. I know not upon what principle Dr. MOSHEIM maintains, that the inhabitants of the *Vallies of Piedmont* are to be carefully diſtinguiſhed from the *Waldenſes*; and I am perſuaded, that whoever will be at the pains to read attentively the 2d, 25th, 26th, and 27th chapters of the firſt book of LEGER's *Hiſtoire Generale des Egliſes Vaudoiſes*, will find this diſtinction entirely groundleſs.—When the Papiſts aſk us *where our religion was before* LUTHER? we generally anſwer, *in the Bible*; and we anſwer well. But to gratify their taſte for *Tradition* and *human authority*, we may add to this anſwer, *and in the Vallies of Piedmont*.

[*b*] See the following ancient writers, who have given accounts of the ſect in queſtion, *to wit*, SACHONI *Summa contra Valdenſes*.—

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The doctrine, diſcipline, and views of the Waldenſes.

XII. The attempts of PETER WALDUS and his followers were neither employed nor deſigned to introduce new doctrines into the church, nor to propoſe new articles of faith to Chriſtians. All they aimed at was, to reduce the form of eccleſiaſtical government, and the lives and manners both of the clergy and people, to that amiable ſimplicity, and that primitive ſanctity, that characteriſed the apoſtolic ages, and which appear ſo ſtrongly recommended in the precepts and injunctions of the divine author of our holy religion. In conſequence of this deſign, they complained that the Roman church had degenerated, under CONSTANTINE the Great, from its primitive purity and ſanctity. They denied the ſupremacy of the Roman pontif, and maintained that the rulers and miniſters of the church were obliged, by their vocation, to imitate the poverty of the apoſtles, and to procure for themſelves a ſubſiſtence by the work of their hands. They conſidered every Chriſtian, as in a certain meaſure qualified and authorized to inſtruct, exhort, and confirm the brethren in their chriſtian courſe, and demanded the reſtoration of the ancient penitential diſcipline of the church, *i. e.* the expiation of tranſgreſſions by prayer, faſting and alms, which the new-invented doctrine of *indulgences* had almoſt totally aboliſhed. They, at the ſame time, affirmed, that every pious Chriſtian was

Valdenſes.—MONETÆ *Summa contra Catharos et Valdenſes.*—publiſhed by RICHINI.—*Tr. de Hæreſi Pauperum de Lugduno*, publiſhed by MARTENE, in his *Theſaur. Anecdot.* tom. v. p. 1777.—PILICHDORFIUS *contra Valdenſes*, t. xxv. *B. B. Max. Patr.*—Add to theſe authors, Jo. PAUL PERRIN *Hiſtoire de Vaudois*, publiſhed at *Geneva* in 1619.—Jo. LEGER. *Hiſtoire Generale, des Egliſes Vaudoiſes*, livr. i. ch. xiv. p. 136.—USSERII *De Succeſſione Eccleſiarum Occidentis*, cap. viii. p. 209.—JAC. BASNAGE *Hiſtoire des Egliſes Reformées*, tom. i. period iv. p. 329.—THOM. AUGUST. RICHINI *Diſſertat. de Valdenſibus*, prefixed to his edition of the *Summa* MONETÆ, p. 36.—BOULAY *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 292.

qualified

qualified and entitled to preſcribe to the penitent the kind and degree of *ſatisfaction* or expiation that their tranſgreſſions required; that confeſſion made to prieſts was by no means neceſſary, ſince the humble offender might acknowledge his ſins and teſtify his repentance to any true believer, and might expect from ſuch the counſels and admonitions that his caſe and circumſtances demanded. They maintained, that the power of delivering ſinners from the guilt and puniſhment of their offences belonged to God alone; and that *indulgences*, of conſequence, were the criminal inventions of ſordid avarice. They looked upon the prayers, and other ceremonies that were inſtituted in behalf of the dead, as vain, uſeleſs, and abſurd, and denied the exiſtence of departed ſouls in an intermediate ſtate of purification, affirming, that they were immediately, upon the ſeparation from the body, received into heaven, or thruſt down to hell. Theſe and other tenets of a like nature compoſed the ſyſtem of doctrine propagated by the Waldenſes. Their rules of practice were extremely auſtere; for they adopted, as the model of their moral diſcipline, the Sermon of CHRIST on the mount, which they interpreted and explained in the moſt rigorous and literal manner, and, of conſequence, prohibited and condemned in their ſociety all wars, and ſuits of law, all attempts towards the acquiſition of wealth, the inflicting of capital puniſhments, ſelf-defence againſt unjuſt violence, and oaths of all kinds [*i*].

XIII.

[*i*] See the *Codex Inquiſitionis Toloſanæ*, publiſhed by LIMBORCH, as alſo the *Summa* MONETÆ *contra Waldenſes*, and the other writers of the Waldenſian hiſtory. Though theſe writers are not all equally accurate, nor perfectly agreed about the number of doctrines that entered into the ſyſtem of this ſect, yet they are almoſt all unanimous in acknowledging the ſincere piety and exemplary conduct of the Waldenſes, and ſhew plainly enough

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The form of church government among the Waldenſes.

XIII. The government of the church was committed, by the Waldenſes, to *biſhops* [*k*], *preſbyters*, and deacons; for they acknowledged that theſe three eccleſiaſtical orders were inſtituted by CHRIST himſelf. But they looked upon it as abſolutely neceſſary, that all theſe orders ſhould reſemble exactly the apoſtles of the divine Saviour, and be, like them, illiterate, poor, deſtitute of all worldly poſſeſſions, and furniſhed with ſome laborious trade or vocation, in order to gain by conſtant induſtry their daily ſubſiſtence [*l*]. The laity were divided into two claſſes; one of which contained the *perfect*, and the other the *imperfect* Chriſtians. The former ſpontaneouſly diveſted themſelves of all worldly poſſeſſions, manifeſted, in the wretchedneſs of their apparel, their exceſſive poverty, and emaciated their bodies by frequent faſting. The latter were leſs auſtere, and approached nearer to the method of living generally received, though they abſtained, like the graver ſort of anabaptiſts in later times, from all appearance of pomp and luxury. It is, however, to be obſerved, that the Waldenſes were not without their inteſtine diviſions. Such of them as lived in *Italy* differed conſiderably in their opinions from thoſe who dwelt in *France* and the other European nations. The former conſidered the church of *Rome* as the church of CHRIST, though much corrupted and ſadly disfigured; they acknowledged moreover the validity of its ſeven ſacraments, and ſolemnly declared that they would

enough that their intention was not to oppoſe the doctrines that were univerſally received among Chriſtians, but only to revive the piety and manners of the primitive times, and to combat the vices of the clergy, and the abuſes that had been introduced into the worſhip and diſcipline of the church.

[*k*] The biſhops were alſo called, *majorales*, or *elders*.

[*l*] The greateſt part of the *Waldenſes* gained their livelihood by weaving; hence the whole ſect in certain places were called the *ſect of weavers*.

continue

continue always in communion with it, provided they might be allowed to live as they thought proper, without moleſtation or reſtraint. The latter affirmed, on the contrary, that the church of *Rome* had apoſtatiſed from CHRIST, was deprived of the holy ſpirit, and was, in reality, that *whore of Babylon* mentioned in the *Revelations of St.* JOHN [*m*].

Sects of a leſs eminent kind. The Paſagini.

XIV. Beſides theſe famous ſects, which made a great noiſe in the world, and drew after them multitudes from the boſom of a corrupt and ſuperſtitious church, there were other religious *factions* of leſſer importance, which aroſe in *Italy*, and more eſpecially in *France*, though they ſeem to have expired ſoon after their birth [*n*]. In *Lombardy*, which was the principal reſidence of the Italian heretics, there ſprung up a very ſingular ſect, known by the denomination of *Paſaginians* [*o*], and alſo by that of the *circumciſed*. Like the other ſects already mentioned, they had the utmoſt averſion to the dominion and diſcipline of the church of *Rome*; but they were, at the ſame time, diſtinguiſhed by two religious tenets that were peculiar to themſelves. The firſt was a notion, that the obſervation of the law of MOSES, in every thing except the offering of ſa-

[*m*] MONETÆ *Summa contra Catharos* et *Valdenſes*, p. 406. 416, &c. They ſeem to have been alſo divided in their ſentiments concerning the poſſeſſion of worldly goods, as appears from the accounts of STEPHANUS DE BORBONE, in ECHARDI *Scriptoribus Dominicanis*, tom. i. p. 191. This writer divides the *Waldenſes* into two claſſes; *The poor men of Lions*, and *The poor men of Lombardy*. The former rejected and prohibited all ſorts of poſſeſſions; the latter looked upon worldly poſſeſſions as lawful. This diſtinction may be alſo confirmed by ſeveral paſſages of other ancient authors.

[*n*] For an account of theſe obſcurer ſects, ſee STEPHANUS DE BORBONE, in ECHARDI *Scriptoribus Dominicanis*, tom. i. p. 191.

[*o*] The origin of the name *Paſagini*, or *Paſagii*, is not known.

crifices,

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crifices, was obligatory upon Chriſtians, in conſequence of which they circumciſed their followers, abſtained from thoſe meats, the uſe of which was prohibited under the Moſaic œconomy, and celebrated the Jewiſh Sabbath. The ſecond tenet that diſtinguiſhed this ſect was advanced in oppoſition to the doctrine of three perſons in the divine nature; for the *Paſaginians* maintained that CHRIST was no more than the *firſt and pureſt creature of God*; nor will their adopting this opinion ſeem ſo ſurpriſing, if we conſider the prodigious number of Arians that were ſcattered throughout *Italy* long before this period of time [*p*].

The Caputiati.

XV. A ſet of fanatics, called *Caputiati*, from a ſingular kind of cap that was the badge of their faction, infeſted the province of *Burgundy*, the dioceſe of *Auxerre*, and ſeveral other parts of *France*, in all which places they excited much diſturbance among the people. They wore upon their caps a leaden image of the Virgin MARY, and they declared publicly, that their purpoſe was to level all diſtinctions, to abrogate magiſtracy, to remove all ſubordination among mankind, and to reſtore that primitive liberty, that natural equality that were the ineſtimable privileges of the firſt mortals. HUGO, biſhop of *Auxerre*, attacked theſe diſturbers of human ſociety in the proper manner, employing againſt them the force of arms, inſtead of arguments [*q*].

The ſect of the *apoſtolics*, whom St. BERNARD oppoſed with ſuch bitterneſs and fury, and who were ſo called, as that zealous abbot himſelf acknowledged, becauſe they profeſſed to exhibit in

[*p*] See F. BONACURSI *Manifeſtatio hæreſis Catharorum*, in LUC. DACHERII SPICILEGIO *Veter. Scriptor.* tom. i. p. 211. edit. nov.—GERHARD. BERGAMENSIS *contra Catharos et Paſagios*, in LUD. ANTON. MURATORII *Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 151.

[*q*] JAC. LE BOEUF, *Memoires ſur l'Hiſtoire d'Auxerre*, tom. i. p. 317.

their

their lives and manners the piety and virtues of the holy apoſtles, were very different from the audacious heretics now mentioned. They were a clowniſh ſet of men, of the loweſt birth, who gained their ſubſiſtence by bodily labour; and yet no ſooner did they form themſelves into a ſect, than they drew after them a multitude of adherents of all ranks and orders. Their religious doctrine, as St. BERNARD confeſſes, was free from error, and their lives and manners were irreproachable and exemplary. Yet they were reprehenſible, on account of the following peculiarities: 1. They held it unlawful to take an oath. 2. They ſuffered their hair and their beards to grow to an enormous length, ſo that their aſpect was inexpreſſibly extravagant and ſavage. 3. They preferred celibacy before wedlock, and called themſelves the *chaſte brethren and ſiſters*. Notwithſtanding which, 4. Each man had a ſpiritual ſiſter with him, after the manner of the apoſtles, with whom he lived in a domeſtic relation, lying in the ſame chamber with her, though not in the ſame bed [*r*].

Eon, a wrong-headed fanatic.

XVI. In the council, which was aſſembled at *Rheims* in the year 1148, and at which pope EUGENIUS III. preſided, a certain gentleman of the province of *Bretagne*, whoſe name was EON, and whoſe brain was, undoubtedly, diſordered, was condemned for pretending to be the ſon of God. Having heard, in the form that was uſed for exorciſing malignant ſpirits, theſe words pronounced: *per* EUM, *qui venturus eſt judicare vivos et mortuus*, he concluded, from the reſemblance that there was between the word EUM and his name, that he was the perſon who was to come and judge both quick and dead. This poor man ſhould

[*r*] St. BERNARDUS, *Sermo* LXV, *in Canticum*, tom. iv. Opp. p. 1495. edit. *Mabillon*.

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rather have been delivered over to the phyſicians, than placed in the liſt of heretics. He ended his days in a miſerable priſon, and left a conſiderable number of followers and adherents, whom perſecution and death in the moſt dreadful forms could not perſuade to abandon his cauſe, or to renounce an abſurdity, which one would think could never have gained credit, but in ſuch a place as Bedlam [*s*]. This remarkable example is ſufficient to ſhew, not only the aſtoniſhing credulity of the ſtupid multitude, but alſo how far even the rulers of the church were deſtitute of judgment, and ſtrangers to the knowledge of true and genuine religion.

[*s*] MATTH. PARIS, *Hiſtoria Major*. p. 68.—GUIL. NEUBRIGENSIS, *Hiſtoria rerum Anglicarum*, lib. i. p. 50.—BOULAY, *Hiſtoria Acad. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 241.

THE

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the proſperous events that happened to the church during this century.

The ſtate of Chriſtianity in the northern parts of *Aſia* and in *China*.

I. THOUGH the ſucceſſors of GENGIS-KAN, the mighty emperor of the Tartars, or rather of the Mogols, had carried their victorious arms through a great part of *Aſia*, and having reduced *China*, *India*, and *Perſia*, under their yoke, involved in many calamities and ſufferings the Chriſtian aſſemblies which were eſtabliſhed in theſe vanquiſhed lands [*a*]; yet we learn from the beſt accounts, and the moſt reſpectable authorities, that both in *China* and in the Northern parts of *Aſia*, the Neſtorians continued to have a flouriſhing church, and a great number of adherents. The emperors of the Tartars and Mogols had no great averſion to the Chriſtian religion; nay, it appears from authentic records, that ſeveral kings and grandees of theſe nations had either been inſtructed in the doctrines of the goſpel by their anceſtors, or were converted to Chriſtianity by the miniſtry

[*a*] GREGOR. ABULPHARAIUS, *Hiſtoria Dynaſtiar.* p. 281.

and exhortations of the Neſtorians [*b*]. But the religion of MAHOMET, which was ſo adapted to flatter the paſſions of men, infected, by degrees, theſe noble converts, oppoſed with ſucceſs the progreſs of the goſpel, and, in proceſs of time, triumphed over it ſo far, that not the leaſt glimpſe or remains of Chriſtianity were to be perceived in the courts of theſe eaſtern princes.

A papal embaſſy is ſent to the Tartars.

II. The Tartars having made an incurſion into *Europe* in the year 1241, and having laid waſte, with the moſt unrelenting and ſavage barbarity, *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Sileſia*, and the adjacent countries, the Roman pontifs thought it incumbent upon them to endeavour to calm the fury, and ſoften the ferocity, of theſe new and formidable enemies. For this purpoſe, INNOCENT IV. ſent an embaſſy to the Tartars, which conſiſted in a certain number of Dominican and Franciſcan friars [*c*]. In the year 1274, ABAKA, the emperor of that fierce nation, ſent ambaſſadors to the council of *Lyons*, which was held under the pontificate of GREGORY X. [*d*]. About four years after this, pope NICOLAS III. paid the ſame compliment to COBLAI, emperor of the whole Tartar nation, to whom he ſent a ſolemn embaſſy of Franciſcan monks, with a view to render that prince propitious to the Chriſtian cauſe. The laſt expedition of this kind that we ſhall mention at preſent, was that of JOHANNES à

[*b*] See MARC. PAUL. VENETUS, *De Regionibus Oriental.* lib. i. c. iv. lib. ii. c. vi.—HAYTHO the Armenian's *Hiſtor. Oriental.* cap. xix. p. 35. cap. xxiii. p. 39. cap. xxiv. p. 41.—Jos. SIM. ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. III. part II. p. 526. See particularly the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Tartars*, publiſhed in Latin at *Helmſtadt*, in the year 1741, in 4to.

[*c*] See LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 116. 149. 175. 256.

[*d*] WADDING, *loc. cit.* tom. iv. p. 35. tom. v. p. 128. See particularly an accurate and ample account of the negotiations that paſſed between the pontifs and the Tartars, in the *Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica Tartarorum*, already mentioned.

MONTE

MONTE CORVINO, who was ſent in company with other eccleſiaſtics to the ſame emperor, by NICOLAS IV., and who carried letters to the Neſtorians from that zealous pontif. This miſſion was far from being uſeleſs, ſince theſe ſpiritual ambaſſadors converted many of the Tartars to Chriſtianity, engaged conſiderable numbers of the Neſtorians to adopt the doctrine and diſcipline of the church of *Rome*, and erected churches in different parts of *Tartary* and *China*. In order to accelerate the propagation of the goſpel among theſe darkened nations, JOHANNES à MONTE CORVINO tranſlated the *New Teſtament* and the *Pſalms of* DAVID into the language of the Tartars [*e*].

Cruſades renewed.

III. The Roman pontifs employed their moſt zealous and aſſiduous efforts in the ſupport of the Chriſtian cauſe in *Paleſtine*, which was now in a moſt declining, or rather in a deſperate ſtate. They had learnt, by a delicious experience, how much theſe Aſiatic wars, undertaken from a principle, or at leaſt carried on under a pretext of religion, had contributed to fill their coffers, augment their authority, and cover them with glory; and therefore they had nothing more at heart than the renewal and prolongation of theſe ſacred expeditions [*f*]. INNOCENT III., therefore, founded the charge; but the greateſt part of the European princes and nations were deaf to the voice of the holy trumpet. At length, however, after many unſucceſsful attempts in different

[*e*] ODOR. RAYNALDUS, *Annal. Eccleſiaſtic.* tom. xiv. *ad A.* 1278. § 17. p. 282. & *ad A.* 1289. § 59. p. 419. edit. *Colon.*—PIERRE BERGERON. *Traité des Tartares*, chap. xi. p. 61. See alſo the writers mentioned in the *Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica Tartatorum.*

[*f*] This is remarked by the writers of the twelfth century, who had ſoon perceived the avaricious and deſpotic views of the pontifs, in the encouragement they gave to the cruſades. See MATTH. PARIS, *Hiſt. Major*, p. 174. 364. *et paſſim.*

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countries, a certain number of French nobles entered into an alliance with the republic of *Venice*, and ſet ſail for the eaſt with an army that was far from being formidable. Beſides; the event of this new expedition was by no means anſwerable to the expectations of the pontif. The French and Venetians, inſtead of ſteering their courſe towards *Paleſtine*, ſailed directly for *Conſtantinople*, and, in the year 1203, took that imperial city by ſtorm, with a deſign to reſtore to the throne ISAAC ANGELUS, who implored their ſuccour againſt the violence of his brother ALEXIUS, who had uſurped the empire. The year following a dreadful ſedition was raiſed at *Conſtantinople*, in which the emperor ISAAC was put to death, and his ſon, the young ALEXIUS, was ſtrangled by ALEXIUS DUCAS, the ringleader of this furious faction [*g*]. The account of this parricide no ſooner came to the ears of the chiefs of the cruſade, than they made themſelves maſters of *Conſtantinople* for the ſecond time, dethroned and drove from the city the tyrant DUCAS, and elected BALDWIN, count of *Flanders*, emperor of the Greeks. This proceeding was a ſource of new diviſions; for about two years after this the Greeks reſolved to ſet up, in oppoſition to this Latin emperor, one of their own nation, and elected for that purpoſe THEODORE LASCARIS, who choſe *Nice* in *Bithynia* for the place of his imperial reſidence. From this period until the year 1261, two emperors reigned over the Greeks; the one of their own nation, who reſided at *Nice*; and the other of Latin or French extraction, who lived at *Conſtantinople*, the ancient metropolis of the empire. But, in the year 1261, the face of things was changed by the Grecian emperor, MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, who, by the valour and

☞ [*g*] The learned authors of the *Univerſal Hiſtory* call this ringleader, by miſtake, JOHN DUCAS.

ſtratagems

ſtratagems of his general, CÆSAR ALEXIUS, became maſter of *Conſtantinople*, and forced the Latin emperor, BALDWIN II., to abandon that city, and ſave himſelf by flight in *Italy*. Thus fell the empire of the Franks at *Conſtantinople*, after a duration of fifty-ſeven years [*b*].

Another cruſade undertaken.

IV. Another ſacred expedition was undertaken in the year 1217, under the pontificate of HONORIUS III., by the confederate arms of *Italy* and *Germany*. The allied army was commanded in chief by ANDREW, king of *Hungary*, who was joined by LEOPOLD, duke of *Auſtria*, LEWIS of *Bavaria*, and ſeveral other princes. After a few months abſence, ANDREW returned into *Europe*. The remaining chiefs carried on the war with vigour, and in the year 1220, made themſelves maſters of *Damietta*, the ſtrongeſt city in *Egypt*; but their proſperity was of a ſhort duration, for the year following, their fleet was totally ruined by that of the Saracens, their proviſions cut off, and their army reduced to the greateſt ſtraits and difficulties. This irreparable loſs was followed by that of *Damietta*, which blaſted all their hopes, and removed the flattering proſpects which their ſucceſsful beginnings had preſented to their expectations [*i*].

[*b*] See, for a full account of this empire, DU FRESNE, *Hiſtoire de l'Empire de Conſtantinople ſous les Empereurs Françoiſe*; in the former part of which we find the *Hiſtoire de la Conquête de la Ville de Conſtantinople par les François*, written by GODFREY DE VILLE HARDUIN, one of the French chiefs concerned in the expedition. This work makes a part of the Byzantine hiſtory. See alſo CLAUDE FONTENAY, *Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe Gallicane*, tom. x. p. 216.—GUNTHERI *Monachi Hiſtor. captæ à Latinis Conſtantinopoleos*, in HENR. CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 1.—INNOCENTII III., *Epiſtol. à Baluzio editas*, paſſim.

[*i*] See JAC. DE VITRIACO, *Hiſtor. Oriental.* & MARTIN SANCTUS, *Secret. fidel. crucis inter Bangarſianos de ſacris bellis ſcriptores, ſeu geſta Dei per Francos.*

An hiſtorical view of the other cruſades, each in their order.

V. The legates and miſſionaries of the court of *Rome* ſtill continued to animate the languiſhing zeal of the European princes in behalf of the Chriſtian cauſe in *Paleſtine*, and to revive the ſpirit of cruſading, which ſo many calamities and diſaſters had almoſt totally extinguiſhed. At length, in conſequence of their lively remonſtrances, a new army was raiſed, and a new expedition undertaken, which excited great expectations, and drew the attention of *Europe*, and that ſo much the more, as it was generally believed, that this army was to be commanded by the emperor FREDERIC II. That prince had, indeed, obliged himſelf by a ſolemn promiſe, made to the Roman pontif, to take upon him the direction of this expedition; and what added a new degree of force to this engagement, and ſeemed to render the violation of it impoſſible, was the marriage that FREDERIC had contracted, in the year 1223, with JOLANDA, daughter of JOHN, count of *Brienne*, and king of *Jeruſalem*, by which alliance that kingdom was to be added to his European dominions. Yet, notwithſtanding all this, the emperor put off his voyage from time to time under various pretexts, and did not ſet out until the year 1228, when, after having been excommunicated on account of his delay, by the incenſed pontif GREGORY IX. [*k*], he fol-

☞ [*k*] This papal excommunication, which was drawn up in the moſt outrageous and indecent language, was ſo far from exciting FREDERIC to accelerate his departure for *Paleſtine*, that it produced no effect upon him at all, and was, on the contrary, received with the utmoſt contempt. He defended himſelf by his ambaſſador at *Rome*, and ſhewed that the reaſons of his delay were ſolid and juſt, and not mere pretexts, as the pope had pretended. At the ſame time, he wrote a remarkable letter to HENRY III., king of *England*, in which he complains of the inſatiable avarice, the boundleſs ambition, the perfidious and hypocrical proceedings of the Roman pontifs. See FLEURY, *Hiſtoire Eccleſiaſtique*, livr. lxxix. tom. xvi. p. 601. edit. *Bruxelles*.

lowed

lowed with a ſmall train of attendants the troops, who expected, with the moſt anxious impatience, his arrival in *Paleſtine*. No ſooner did he land in that diſputed kingdom, than, inſtead of carrying on the war with vigour, he turned all his thoughts towards peace, and, without conſulting the other princes and chiefs of the cruſade, concluded, in the year 1229, a treaty of peace, or rather a truce of ten years, with MELIC-CAMEL, ſultan of *Egypt*. The principal thing ſtipulated in this treaty was, that FREDERIC ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the city and kingdom of *Jeruſalem*: this condition was immediately executed; and the emperor, entering into the city with great pomp, and accompanied by a numerous train, placed the crown upon his head with his own hands; and, having thus ſettled matters in *Paleſtine*, he returned without delay into *Italy*, to appeaſe the diſcords and commotions which the vindictive and ambitious pontif had excited there in his abſence. So that, in reality, notwithſtanding all the reproaches that were caſt upon the emperor by the pope and his creatures, this expedition was by far the moſt ſucceſsful of any that had been yet undertaken againſt the infidels [*l*].

VI. The expeditions that followed this were leſs important and alſo leſs ſucceſsful. In the year 1239, THEOBALD VI. [*m*], count of *Champagne* and king of *Navarre*, ſet out from *Marſeilles* for the Holy Land, accompanied by ſeveral French and German princes, as did alſo, the year following, RICHARD, earl of *Cornwal*, brother to HENRY III., king of *England*. The iſſue of

[*l*] See the writers that have compoſed the Hiſtory of the Holy Wars, and of the Life and Exploits of FREDERIC II. See alſo MURATORI *Annales Italiæ*, and the various authors of the Germanic Hiſtory.

☞ [*m*] Dr. MOSHEIM calls him, by a miſtake, THEOBALD V., unleſs we are to attribute this fault to an error of the preſs,

theſe

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these two expeditions was by no means answerable to the preparations which were made to render them successful. The former failed through the influence of the emperor's [*n*] ambassadors in *Palestine*, who renewed the truce with the Mahometans; while, on the other hand, a considerable body of Christians were defeated at *Gaza*, and such as escaped the carnage returned into *Europe*. This fatal event was principally owing to the discords that reigned between the templars and the knights of St. JOHN of *Jerusalem*. Hence it came to pass, that the arrival of RICHARD, which had been industriously retarded by GREGORY IX., and which had revived, in some degree, the hopes of the vanquished, was ineffectual to repair their loss; and all that this prince could do, was to enter, with the consent of the allies, into a truce upon as good conditions as the declining state of their affairs would admit of. This truce was accordingly concluded with the sultan of *Egypt* in the year 1241, after which RICHARD immediately set sail for *Europe* [*o*].

The expedition of Lewis IX.

VII. The affairs of the Christians in the east declined from day to day. Intestine discords and ill-conducted expeditions had reduced them almost to the last extremity, when LEWIS IX., king of *France*, who was canonised after his death, and is still worshipped with the utmost devotion, attempted their restoration. It was in

☞ [*n*] FREDERIC II., who had still a great party in *Palestine*, and did not act in concert with the clergy and the creatures of his bitter enemy, GREGORY IX., from which division the Christian cause suffered much.

[*o*] All these circumstances are accurately related and illustrated by the learned GEORGE CHRIST. GEBAVERUS, in his *Historia Richardi Imperatoris*, lib. i. p. 34.—It appears however by the *Epistolæ Petri de Vineis*, that RICHARD was created by FREDERIC II., his lord-lieutenant of the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and this furnishes a probable reason why GREGORY IX. used all possible means to retard RICHARD's voyage.

consequence

conſequence of a vow, which this prince had made in the year 1248, when he was ſeized with a painful and dangerous illneſs, that he undertook this arduous taſk, and, in the execution of it, he ſet ſail for *Egypt* with a formidable army and a numerous fleet, from a notion that the conqueſt of this province would enable him to carry on the war in *Syria* and *Paleſtine* with more facility and ſucceſs. The firſt attempts of the zealous monarch were crowned with victory; for *Damietta*, that famous Egyptian city, yielded to his arms; but the ſmiling proſpect was ſoon changed, and the progreſs of the war preſented one uniform ſcene of calamity and deſolation. The united horrors of famine and peſtilence overwhelmed the royal army, whoſe proviſions were cut off by the Mahometans, in the year 1250; ROBERT, earl of *Artois*, the king's own brother, having ſurpriſed the Saracen army, and, through an exceſs of valour, purſued them too far, was ſlain in the engagement; and, a few days after, the king himſelf, with two more of his brothers [*p*], and the greateſt part of his army, were taken priſoners in a bloody action, after a bold and obſtinate reſiſtance. This valiant monarch, who was endowed with true greatneſs of mind, and who was extremely pious, though after the manner that prevailed in this age of ſuperſtition and darkneſs, was ranſomed at an immenſe price [*q*], and after having ſpent about

☞ [*p*] ALPHONSUS earl of *Poitiers*, and CHARLES earl *Anjou*.

☞ [*q*] The ranſom, which, together with the reſtoration of *Damietta*, the king was obliged to pay for his liberty, was eight hundred thouſand gold bezants, and not eighty thouſand as COLLIER erroneouſly reckons *. This ſum, which was equal then to 500,000 livres of French money, would, in our days, amount to the value of four millions of livres, that is, to about 190,000 pounds ſterling.

* See COLLIER's *Eccleſ. Hiſtory*, Cent. XIII. vol. i. p. 456.

four

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four years in *Paleſtine*, returned into *France*, in the year 1254, with a handful of men [*r*], the miſerable remains of his formidable army.

A ſecond cruſade undertaken by the ſame monarch.

VIII. No calamities could deject the courage nor damp the invincible ſpirit of LEWIS; nor did he look upon his vow as fulfilled by what he had already done in *Paleſtine*. He therefore reſolved upon a new expedition, fitted out a formidable fleet with which he ſet ſail for *Africa*, accompanied by a ſplendid train of princes and nobles, and propoſed to begin in that part of the world his operations againſt the infidels, that he might either convert them to the Chriſtian faith, or draw from their treaſures the means of carrying on more effectually the war in *Aſia*. Immediately after his arrival upon the *African* coaſt, he made himſelf maſter of the fort of *Carthage*; but this firſt ſucceſs was ſoon followed by a fatal change in his affairs. A peſtilential diſeaſe broke out in the fleet, in the harbour of *Tunis*, carried off the greateſt part of the army, and ſeized, at length, the monarch himſelf, who fell a victim to its rage, on the 25th of Auguſt, in the year 1270 [*s*]. LEWIS was the laſt of the European princes that embarked in the holy war; the dangers and difficulties, the calamities and diſ-

[*r*] Of 2800 illuſtrious knights, who ſet out with LEWIS from *France*, there remained about an hundred when he ſailed from *Paleſtine*. See JOINVILLE's *Hiſt. de S. Louis* IX. p. 81.

[*s*] Among the various hiſtories that deſerve to be conſulted for an ampler account of this laſt cruſade, the principal place is due to the *Hiſtoire de S. Louis* IX. *du nom, Roy de France, écrite par Jean Sr. de Joinville, enrichie de nouvelles Diſſertations et Obſervations Hiſtoriques, par Charles du Freſne, Paris* 1688, Fol. See alſo FILLEAU DE LA CHAIZE, *Hiſtoire de S. Louis, Paris* 1688, 2 vol. in 8vo.—MENCONIS *Chronicon*, in ANT. MATTHÆI *Analectis veteris ævi*, tom. iii. p. 172. 179.—LUC. WADDINGI *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 294. 307, & *paſſim*. —BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 212. 392, &c.—PIERRE CLAUDE FONTENAY, *Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe Gallicane*, tom. xi. p. 337. 405. 575.

orders,

orders, and the enormous expences that accompanied each cruſade, diſguſted the moſt zealous, and diſcouraged the moſt intrepid promoters of theſe fanatical expeditions. In conſequence of this, the Latin empire in the eaſt declined apace, notwithſtanding the efforts of the Roman pontifs to maintain and ſupport it; and in the year 1291, after the taking of *Ptolomais*, or *Acra*, by the Mahometans, it was entirely overthrown [*t*]. It is natural to inquire into the true cauſes that contributed to this unhappy revolution in *Paleſtine*; and theſe cauſes are evident. We muſt not ſeek for them either in the councils or in the valour of the infidels, but in the diſſenſions that reigned in the Chriſtian armies, in the profligate lives of thoſe, who called themſelves the champions of the croſs, and in the ignorance and obſtinacy, the avarice and inſolence of the pope's legates.

Converſion of the Pruſſians.

IX. Chriſtianity as yet had not tamed the ferocity, nor conquered the Pagan ſuperſtitions and prejudices, that ſtill prevailed in ſome of the weſtern provinces. Among others, the Pruſſians, a fierce and ſavage nation, retained ſtill the idolatrous worſhip of their anceſtors with the moſt obſtinate perſeverance; nor did the arguments and exhortations employed by the miſſionaries that were ſent among them, from time to time, produce the leaſt effect upon their ſtubborn and intractable ſpirits. The brutiſh firmneſs of theſe Pagans induced CONRAD, duke of *Maſſovia*, to have recourſe to more forcible methods than reaſon and argument, in order to bring about their converſion. For this purpoſe, he addreſſed himſelf, in the year 1230, to the knights of the Teutonic order of St. MARY, who, after their

[*t*] ANT. MATTHÆI *Analecta veteris ævi*, tom. v. p. 748. —JAC. ECHARDI *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 422.— IMOLA *in Dantem*, in MURATORII *Antiq. Italicæ medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1111, 1112.

expulſion

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expulsion from *Palestine*, had settled at *Venice*, and engaged them, by pompous promises, to undertake the conquest and conversion of the Prussians. The knights accordingly arrived in *Prussia*, under the command of HERMAN DE SALTZA, and after a most cruel and obstinate war, of fifty years standing, with that resolute people, obliged them, with difficulty, to acknowledge the Teutonic order for their sovereigns, and to embrace the Christian faith [*u*]. After having established Christianity, and fixed their own dominion in *Prussia*, these booted apostles made several excursions into the neighbouring countries, and particularly into *Lithuania*, where they pillaged, burned, massacred, and ruined all before them, until they forced the inhabitants of that miserable province to profess a feigned submission to the gospel, or rather to the furious and unrelenting missionaries, by whom it was propagated in a manner so contrary to its divine maxims, and to the benevolent spirit of its celestial author [*w*].

Of the Arabians in *Spain*.

X. In *Spain* the cause of the gospel gained ground from day to day. The kings of *Castile*, *Leon*, *Navarre*, and *Arragon*, waged perpetual war with the Saracen princes, who held still under their dominion the kingdoms of *Valentia*, *Granada*, and *Murcia*, together with the province of *Andalusia*; and this war was carried on with such success, that the Saracen dominion declined

[*u*] See MATTHÆI *Analecta vet. ævi*, tom. iii. p. 18. tom. v p. 684—689.—PETRI DE DUISBURGH, *Chronicon. Prussiæ*, published by HARTKNOCHIUS at *Jena*, in the year 1679.—CHRISTOPH. HARTKNOCHIUS, his *History of the Prussian Church*, written in the German language, book I. ch. i. p. 33. and *Antiquitates Prussiæ*, *Diss.* xiv. p. 201.—BALUSII *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 427. 478.—WADDINGI *Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 40. 63.—SOLIGNAC, *Histoire de Pologne*, tom. ii. p. 238.

[*w*] Besides the authors mentioned in the preceding note, see LUDWEGII *Reliquæ Manuscriptorum omnis ævi*, tom. i. p. 336.

apace, and was daily reduced within narrower bounds, while the limits of the church were extended on every ſide. The princes that contributed principally to this happy revolution were FERDINAND, king of *Leon* and *Caſtile*, who, after his death, obtained a place in the Kalendar, his father ALPHONSUS IX., king of *Leon*, and JAMES I., king of *Arragon* [*x*]. The latter, more eſpecially, diſtinguiſhed himſelf eminently by his fervent zeal for the advancement of Chriſtianity; for no ſooner had he made himſelf maſter of *Valentia* in the year 1236, than he employed, with the greateſt pains and aſſiduity, every poſſible method of converting to the faith his Arabian ſubjects, whoſe expulſion would have been an irreparable loſs to his kingdom. For this purpoſe he ordered the Dominicans, whoſe miniſtry he made uſe of principally in this ſalutary work, to learn the Arabic tongue; and he founded public ſchools at *Majorca* and *Barcelona*, in which a conſiderable number of youth were educated in a manner that might enable them to preach the goſpel in that language. When theſe pious efforts were found to be ineffectual, the Roman pontif CLEMENT IV. exhorted the king to drive the Mahometans out of *Spain*. The obſequious prince followed the counſel of the inconſiderate pontif; in the execution of which, however, he met with much difficulty, both from the oppoſition which the Spaniſh nobles made to it on the one hand, and from the obſtinacy of the Moors on the other [*y*].

[*x*] See JOH. FERRERAS, *Hiſtory of Spain*, vol. iv.

[*y*] See GEDDES, his *Hiſtory of the Expulſion of the Moriſcoes*, in his *Miſcellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 26.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the Church during this century.

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The unhappy ſtate of the affairs of the Chriſtians in the eaſt.

I. THE accounts we have already given of the conqueſts of the Tartars, and of the unhappy iſſue of the cruſades, will be ſufficient to give us a lively idea of the melancholy condition to which the Chriſtians were reduced in *Aſia*; and had the Saracens been infected with the ſame odious ſpirit of perſecution that poſſeſſed the cruſaders, there would not perhaps have remained a ſingle Chriſtian in that part of the world. But though theſe infidels were chargeable with various crimes, and had frequently treated the Chriſtians in a rigorous and injurious manner, yet they looked with horror upon thoſe ſcenes of perſecution, which the Latins exhibited as the exploits of heroic piety, and conſidered it as the higheſt and moſt atrocious mark of cruelty and injuſtice to force unhappy men, by fire and ſword, to abandon their religious principles, or to put them to death merely becauſe they refuſed to change their opinions. After the deſtruction of the kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, many of the Latins remained ſtill in *Syria*, and retiring into the dark and ſolitary receſſes of mount *Liban*, lived there in a ſavage manner, and loſt, by degrees, all ſenſe both of religion and humanity, as appears in the conduct and characters of their deſcendants, who ſtill inhabit the ſame uncultivated wilds, and who ſeem almoſt entirely deſtitute of all knowledge of God and religion [z].

II.

[z] A certain tribe, called DERUSI, or DRUSI, who inhabit the receſſes of the mounts *Liban* and *Antiliban*, pretend to deſcend from the ancient Franks, who were once maſters of *Paleſtine*. This derivation is, indeed, doubtful. It is however certain,

II. The Latin writers of this age complain in many places of the growth of infidelity, of daring and licentious writers, ſome of whom attacked publicly the doctrines of Chriſtianity, while others went ſo far as atheiſtically to call in queſtion the perfections and government of the Supreme Being. Theſe complaints, however they might have been exaggerated in ſome reſpects, were yet far from being entirely deſtitute of foundation; and the ſuperſtition of the times was too naturally adapted to create a number of infidels and libertines, among men who had more capacity than judgment, more wit than ſolidity. Perſons of this character, when they fixed their attention only upon that abſurd ſyſtem of religion, which the Roman pontifs and their dependents exhibited as the true religion of CHRIST, and maintained by the odious influence of bloody perſecution, were, for want of the means of being better inſtructed, unhappily led to conſider the Chriſtian religion as a fable invented and propagated by a greedy and ambitious prieſthood, in order to fill their coffers and to render their authority reſpectable. The philoſophy of ARISTOTLE, which flouriſhed in all the European ſchools, and was looked upon as the very eſſence of right reaſon, contributed much to ſupport this deluſion, and to nouriſh a proud and preſumptuous ſpirit of infidelity. This quibbling and intricate philoſophy led many to reject ſome of the moſt evident and important doctrines both of natural and revealed religion, ſuch as the doctrine of a divine providence governing the univerſe, the immortality of the ſoul, the ſcripture account of the origin of the world, and other points of leſs mo-

Complaints of infidelity and atheiſm among the Latins.

certain, that there ſtill remain in theſe countries deſcendants of thoſe, whom the Holy war brought from *Europe* into *Paleſtine*; though they do very little honour to their anceſtors, and have nothing of Chriſtians but the name.

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ment. These doctrines were not only rejected, but the moſt pernicious errors were induſtriouſly propagated in oppoſition to them, by a ſet of Ariſtotelians, who were extremely active in gaining proſelytes to their impious jargon [*a*].

Frederic II. accuſed of impiety.

III. If the accuſations brought againſt FREDERIC II., by the Roman pontif GREGORY IX., deſerve any credit, that prince may be ranked among the moſt inveterate and malignant enemies of the Chriſtian religion, ſince he was charged by

[*a*] See Sti. THOMÆ *Summa contra gentes*, and BERNHARDI MONETÆ *Summa contra Catharos et Waldenſes*. This latter writer, in the work now mentioned, combats, with great ſpirit, the enemies of Chriſtianity which appeared in his time. In the fourth chapter of the fifth book, p. 416. he diſputes, in an ample and copious manner, againſt thoſe who affirmed, *that the ſoul periſhed with the body*; refutes, in the eleventh chapter, p. 477. thoſe Ariſtotelian philoſophers, who held, that the world had exiſted from all eternity, and would never have an end; and, in the fifteenth chapter, p. 554. he attacks thoſe, who, deſpiſing the authority of the ſacred writings, deny the exiſtence of *human liberty*, and maintain, that all things, and even the crimes of the wicked, are the effects of an *abſolute and irreſiſtible neceſſity*. Add to theſe authors, STEPHANI TEMPIERII, *Epiſcopi Pariſienſis, Indiculus errorum, qui a nonnullis Magiſtris Lutetiæ publice privatimque docebantur, Anno* 1277, *in Bibliotheca patrum Maxima*, tom. xxv. p. 233; as alſo BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 433. and GERARDI DU BOIS, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 501. The tenets of theſe doctors will, no doubt, appear of a ſurpriſing nature; for they taught, *that there was only one intellect among all the human race*; *that all things were ſubject to abſolute fate or neceſſity*; *that the univerſe was not governed by a divine providence*; *that the world was eternal, and the ſoul mortal*; and they maintained theſe and ſuch like monſtrous errors by arguments drawn from the philoſophy of ARISTOTLE. But, at the ſame time, to avoid the juſt reſentment of the people, they held up, as a buckler againſt their adverſaries, that moſt dangerous and pernicious diſtinction between *theological* and *philoſophical truth*, which has been ſince uſed, with the utmoſt cunning and bad faith, by the more recent Ariſtotelians of the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries. *Theſe things*, ſaid they (as we learn from STEPHEN TEMPIER) *are true in philoſophy, but not according to the catholic faith. Vera ſunt hæc ſecundum philoſophum, non ſecundum fidem catholicam.*

GREGORY

GREGORY with having ſaid, that *the world had been deceived by three impoſtors*, MOSES, CHRIST, *and* MAHOMET [*b*]. This charge was anſwered by a ſolemn and public profeſſion of his faith, which the emperor addreſſed to all the kings and princes of *Europe*, to whom alſo had been addreſſed the accuſation brought againſt him by the pontif. The accuſation, however, was founded upon the teſtimony of HENRY RASPON, landgrave of *Thuringia*, who declared that he had heard the emperor pronounce the abominable blaſphemy above mentioned [*c*]. It is, after all, difficult to decide with ſufficient evidence concerning the truth of this fact. FREDERIC, who was extremely paſſionate and imprudent, may, perhaps in a fit of rage, have let ſome ſuch expreſſion as this eſcape his reflexion, and this is rendered probable enough by the company he frequented, and the number of learned Ariſtotelians that were always about his perſon, and might ſuggeſt matter enough for ſuch impious expreſſions, as that now under conſideration. It was this affair that gave occaſion, in after-times, to the invention of that fabulous account [*d*], which ſuppoſes the deteſtable book *Concerning the three impoſtors*, to have been compoſed by the emperor himſelf, or, by PETER DE VINEIS, a native of *Capua*, a man of great credit and authority, whom that prince [*e*] had

[*b*] MATTH. PARIS, *Hiſtor. Major.* p. 408. 459.—PETR. DE VINEIS, *Epiſtolarum, lib.* i.

[*c*] HERM. GYGANTIS *Flores temporum*, p. 126.—CHR. FRID. AYRMANN, *Sylloge Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 639.

[*d*] See CASIM. OUDINI *Comment. de Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*, tom. iii. p. 66.—ALB. HENR. DE SALLENGRE, *Memoirs d'Hiſtoire et de Litterature*, tom. i. part I. p. 386.

☞ [*e*] The book entitled *Liber de* III *Impoſtoribus, ſive Tractatus de Vanitate Religionum*, is really a book which had no exiſtence at the time that the moſt noiſe was made about it, and was ſpoken of by multitudes before it had been ſeen by any one perſon. Its ſuppoſed exiſtence was probably owing to an impi-

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had choſen for his prime miniſter, and in whom he placed the higheſt confidence.

ous ſaying of SIMON OF TOURNAY, doctor of divinity in the univerſity of *Paris* in the thirteenth century, which amounts to this: "That the Jews were ſeduced out of their ſenſes by MOSES, "the Chriſtians by JESUS, and the Gentiles by MAHOMET." This, or ſome expreſſions of a ſimilar kind, were imputed to the emperor FREDERIC, and other perſons, and that perhaps without any real foundation; and the imaginary book, to which they have given riſe, has been attributed, by different authors, to FREDERIC, to his chancellor PETER DE VINEIS, to ALPHONSO, king of *Caſtile*, to BOCCACE, POGGE, the ARETINS, POMPONACE, MACHIAVEL, ERASMUS, OCHINUS, SERVETUS, RABELAIS, GIORDANO BRUNO, CAMPANELLA, and many others. In a word, the book was long ſpoken of before any ſuch work exiſted; but the rumour that was ſpread abroad encouraged ſome profligate traders in licentiouſneſs to compoſe, or rather compile, a bundle of miſerable rhapſodies, under the famous title of the *Three Impoſtors*, in order to impoſe upon ſuch as are fond of theſe pretended *rarities*. Accordingly, the *Spaccio della Beſtia Triomphante* of GIORDANO BRUNO, and a wretched piece of impiety, called the *Spirit of* SPINOZA, were the ground-work or materials from whence theſe hireling compilers, by modifying ſome paſſages and adding others, drew the book which now paſſes under the name of the *Three Impoſtors*, of which I have ſeen two copies in manuſcript, but no printed edition. See LA MONNOYE'S *Diſſertation ſur le Livre de* III *Impoſteurs*, publiſhed at *Amſterdam* in 1715, at the end of the fourth volume of the *Menagiana*. See alſo an *Anſwer* to this Diſſertation, which was impudently expoſed to the public eye, in 1716, from the preſs of *Scheurleer* in the *Hague*, and which contains a fabulous ſtory of the origin of the book in queſtion. Whoever is deſirous of a more ample and a very curious account of this matter, will find it in the late PROSPER MARCHAND'S *Dictionaire Hiſtorique*, vol. ii. at the article IMPOSTORIBUS.

PART

PART II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the ſtate of learning and philoſophy during this century.

The ſtate of learning among the Greeks.

I. THE Greeks, amidſt the dreadful calamities, diſcords, and revolutions, that diſtracted and perplexed their unhappy country, had neither that ſpirit, nor that leiſure, that are neceſſary to the culture of the arts and ſciences. Yet, under all theſe diſadvantages, they ſtill retained a certain portion of their former ſpirit, and did not entirely abandon the cauſe of learning and philoſophy, as appears by the writers that aroſe among them during this century. Their beſt hiſtorians were NICETAS, CHONIATES, GEORGIUS ACROPOLITA, GREGORIUS PACHYMERES, and JOEL, whoſe *Chronology* is yet extant. We learn from the writings of GREGORY PACHYMERES and NICEPHORUS BLEMMIDA, that the Peripatetic philoſophy was not without its admirers among the Greeks; though the Platonic was moſt in vogue. The greateſt part of the Grecian philoſophers, following the example of the later Platoniſts, whoſe works were the ſubject of their conſtant meditation, inclined to reduce the wiſdom of PLATO and the ſubtilties of the Stagirite into one ſyſtem, and to reconcile, as well as they could, their jarring principles. It is not neceſſary to exhibit a liſt of thoſe authors, who wrote the lives and diſcourſes of the ſaints, or diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the controverſy with the Latin church, or of thoſe who employed

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their learned labours in illuſtrating the canon law of the Greeks. The principal Syrian writer, which this century produced, was GREGORY ABUL FARAI, primate of the Jacobites, a man of true genius and univerſal learning, who was a judicious divine, an eminent hiſtorian, and a good philoſopher [*a*]. GEORGE ELMACIN, who compoſed the hiſtory of the Saracens, was alſo a writer of no mean reputation.

The progreſs of learning in the weſt.

II. The ſciences carried a fairer aſpect in the weſtern world, where every branch of erudition was cultivated with aſſiduity and zeal, and, of conſequence, flouriſhed, with increaſing vigour, from day to day. The European kings and princes had learned, by a happy experience, how much the advancement of learning and arts contribute to the grandeur and happineſs of a nation; and therefore they invited into their dominions

[*a*] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article ABULPHARAGE; as alſo JOS. SIM. ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. ii. cap. xlii. p. 244.

☞ ABULPHARAGIUS, or ABUL FARAI, was a native of *Malatia*, a city in *Armenia*, near the ſource of the river *Euphrates*, and acquired a vaſt reputation in the eaſt on account of his extenſive erudition. He compoſed *An Abridgment of Univerſal Hiſtory*, from the beginning of the world to his own times, which he divided into ten parts, or dynaſties. The *1ſt* comprehends the hiſtory of the ancient Patriarchs, from *Adam* to *Moſes*. The *2d*, that of *Joſhua* and the other Judges of *Iſrael*. The *3d*, *4th*, *5th*, and *6th*, contain the hiſtory of the Kings of *Iſrael*, of the Chaldean Princes, of the Perſian Magi, and of the Grecian Monarchs. The *7th*, relates to the Roman hiſtory; the *8th*, to that of the Greek Emperors of *Conſtantinople*. In the *9th*, he treats concerning the Arabian Commanders; and in the *10th*, concerning the Moguls. He is more to be depended upon in his hiſtory of the Saracens and Tartars, than in his accounts of other nations. The learned Dr. EDWARD POCOCK tranſlated this work into Latin, and publiſhed his tranſlation in 1663: together with a Supplement, which carries on the hiſtory of the Oriental princes, where ABUL FARAI left it. The ſame learned tranſlator had obliged the public, in 1650, with an abridgment of the ninth dynaſty under the following title: *Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabum; ſive Georgii Abulfaragii Malatienſis de origine et moribus Arabum ſuccincta narratio.*

learned

learned men from all parts of the world, nouriſhed the arts in their boſom, excited the youth to the love of letters, by crowning their progreſs with the moſt noble rewards, and encouraged every effort of genius, by conferring upon ſuch as excelled, the moſt honourable diſtinctions. Among theſe patrons and protectors of learning the emperor FREDERIC II., and ALPHONSUS X., king of *Leon* and *Caſtile*, two princes as much diſtinguiſhed by their own learning, as by the encouragement they granted to men of genius, acquired the higheſt renown, and rendered their names immortal. The former founded the academy of *Naples*, had the works of ARISTOTLE tranſlated into Latin, aſſembled about his perſon all the learned men whom he could engage by his munificence to repair to his court, and gave many other undoubted proofs of his zeal for the advancement of the arts and ſciences [*b*]. The latter obtained an illuſtrious and permanent renown by ſeveral learned productions, but more eſpecially by his famous *Aſtronomical Tables* [*c*]. In conſequence then of the protection that was given to the ſciences in this century, academies were erected almoſt in every city, peculiar privileges of various kinds were alſo granted to the youth that frequented them, and theſe learned ſocieties acquired, at length, the form of political bodies; that is to ſay, they were inveſted with a certain juriſdiction, and were governed by their own laws and ſtatutes.

[*b*] BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 115.—GIANNONE, *Hiſt. de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 497. Add to theſe the obſervations of Jo. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Biblioth. Latin. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 618.

[*c*] NIC. ANTONII *Bibliotheca vetus Hiſpan.* lib. viii. c. v. p. 217.—JO. DE FERRERAS, *Hiſtoire d'Eſpagne*, tom. iv. p. 347.

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The ſtate of the European academies.

III. In the public ſchools or academies that were founded at *Padua*, *Modena*, *Naples*, *Capua*, *Thouloufe*, *Salamancha*, *Lions*, and *Cologn*, the whole circle of the ſciences was not taught, as in our times. The application of the youth, and the labours of their inſtructors, were limited to certain branches of learning, and thus the courſe of academical education remained imperfect. The academy of *Paris*, which ſurpaſſed all the reſt both with reſpect to the number and abilities of its profeſſors, and the multitude of ſtudents by whom it was frequented, was the firſt learned ſociety which extended the ſphere of education, received all the ſciences into its boſom, and appointed maſters for every branch of erudition. Hence it was diſtinguiſhed, before any other academy, with the title of an UNIVERSITY, to denote its embracing the whole circle of ſcience; and, in proceſs of time, other ſchools of learning were ambitious of forming themſelves upon the ſame model, and of being honoured with the ſame title. In this famous univerſity, the doctors were divided into four colleges or claſſes, according to the branches of learning they profeſſed; and theſe claſſes were called, in after-times, *faculties*. In each of theſe *faculties*, a doctor was choſen by the ſuffrages of his colleagues, to preſide during a fixed period in the ſociety; and the title of *dean* was given to thoſe who ſucceſſively filled that eminent office [*d*]. The head of the *univerſity*, whoſe inſpection and juriſdiction extended to all branches of that learned body, was dignified with the name of *chancellor*, and that high and honourable place was filled by the biſhop of *Paris*, to whom an aſſiſtant was afterwards joined, who ſhared the adminiſtration with him, and was cloathed with an extenſive autho-

[*d*] This arrangement was executed about the year 1260. See DU BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 557. 564.

rity [*e*]. The college ſet apart for the ſtudy of divinity was firſt erected and endowed, in the year 1250, by an opulent and pious man, whoſe name was ROBERT DE SORBONNE, a particular friend and favourite of St. LEWIS, whoſe name was adopted, and is ſtill retained, by that theological ſociety [*f*].

The academical courſe.

IV. Such as were deſirous of being admitted profeſſors in any of the *faculties*, or colleges of this famous univerſity, were obliged to ſubmit to a long and tedious *courſe* of probation, to ſuffer the ſtricteſt examinations, and to give, during ſeveral years, undoubted proofs of their learning and capacity, before they were received in the character of public teachers. This ſevere diſcipline was called the *academical courſe*; and it was wiſely deſigned to prevent the number of profeſſors from multiplying beyond meaſure, and alſo to hinder ſuch as were deſtitute of erudition and abilities from aſſuming an office, which was juſtly looked upon as of high importance. They, who had ſatisfied all the demands of this academical law, and had gone through the formidable trial with applauſe, were ſolemnly inveſted with the dignity of *profeſſors*, and were ſaluted *maſters* with a certain round of ceremonies, that were uſed in the ſocieties of illiterate tradeſmen, when their company was augmented by a new candidate. This vulgar cuſtom was introduced,

[*e*] See HERM. CONRINGII *Antiquitates Academicæ*, a work, however, ſuſceptible of conſiderable improvements. The important work mentioned in the preceding note, and which is divided into ſix volumes, deſerves to be principally conſulted in this point, as well as in all others that relate to the hiſtory and government of the univerſity of *Paris*; add to this CLAUD. HEMERÆI *Liber de Academia Pariſienſi, qualis primo fuit in inſula et epiſcoporum ſcholis, Lutet.* 1637. in 4to.

[*f*] See DU BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 223. —DU FRESNE's *Annotations upon the Life of St.* LEWIS, written by JOINVILLE, p. 36.

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in the preceding century, by the profeſſors of law in the academy of *Bolonia*, and, in this century, it was tranſmitted to that of *Paris*, where it was firſt practiſed by the divinity-colleges, and afterwards by the profeſſors of phyſic and of the liberal arts. In this account of the trial and inſtallation of the profeſſors of *Paris*, we may perceive the origin of what we now call *academical degrees*, which, like all other human inſtitutions, have degenerated ſadly from the wiſe ends for which they were at firſt appointed, and grow more inſignificant from day to day [*g*].

The ſtate of literature or humanity.

V. Theſe public inſtitutions, conſecrated to the advancement of learning, were attended with remarkable ſucceſs; but that branch of erudition, which we call humanity, or polite literature, derived leſs advantage from them, than the other ſciences. The induſtrious youth either applied themſelves entirely to the ſtudy of the civil and canon laws, which was a ſure path to preferment, or employed their labours in philoſophical reſearches, in order to the attainment of a ſhining reputation, and of the applauſe that was laviſhed upon ſuch as were endowed with a ſubtile and metaphyſical genius. Hence the bitter complaints that were made by the pontifs and other biſhops, of the neglect and decline of the liberal arts and ſciences; and hence alſo the zealous, but unſucceſsful efforts they uſed to turn the youth from juriſprudence and philoſophy, to the ſtudy of humanity and philology [*b*]. Notwithſtand-

[*g*] Beſides the writers above mentioned, ſee JO. CHR. ITTERUS, *De Gradibus Academicis*.—JUST. HENN. BOHMERI *Præf. ad jus Canonicum*, p. 14.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxonienſ.* tom. i. p. 24.—BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Academ. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 256. 682. 684, &c.

[*b*] BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 265. where there is an epiſtle of INNOCENT III.'s, who ſeems to take this matter ſeriouſly to heart.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 124.—IMOLA *in Dantem in Muratori Antiquit. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1262.

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ing all this, the thirteenth century produced ſeveral writers, who were very far from being contemptible, ſuch as GUIL. BRITO [*i*], GUALTHERUS MAPES [*k*], MATTHEW of *Vendoſme*, ALAIN DE L'ISLE [*l*], GUNTHERUS, JACOBUS DE VITRIACO, and ſeveral others, who wrote with eaſe, and were not altogether deſtitute of elegance. Among the hiſtorians the firſt place is due to MATTHEW PARIS, a writer of the higheſt merit both in point of knowledge and prudence, to whom we may add RODERICUS XIMENIUS, RIGORDUS [*m*], VINCENT of *Beauvais*, ROBERT of *St. Marino* [*n*], MARTINUS, a native of *Poland*, GERVAIS of *Tilbury* [*o*], CONRAD of *Lichtenau*, GULIELMUS NANGIUS, whoſe names are worthy of being preſerved from oblivion. The writers who have laboured to tranſmit to poſterity the lives and exploits of the ſaints, have rather related the ſuperſtitions and miſeries of the times, than the actions of theſe holy men. Among theſe biographers, JAMES of *Vitri*, mentioned above, makes the greateſt figure; he alſo compoſed a *Hiſtory of the Lombards*, that is full of inſipid and trifling ſtories [*p*].

[*i*] See the *Hiſtoire de l'Academie des Inſcriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. xvi. p. 255.

[*k*] Jo. WOLFII, *Lectiones Memorabil.* tom. i. p. 430.

[*l*] Called in Latin, ALANUS DE INSULIS.

[*m*] See the *Hiſtoire de l'Academie des Inſcriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. xvi. p. 243. which alſo gives an ample account of WILLIAM of *Nangis*, p. 292.

[*n*] See LE BOEUF, *Memoires pour l'Hiſtoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 490. where there is alſo a learned account of Vincent of *Beauvais*, p. 494.

☞ [*o*] JERVAIS of *Tilbury* was nephew to HENRY II., king of *England*, and was in high credit with the emperor OTHO IV., to whom he dedicated a Deſcription of the World and a Chronicle, both of which he had himſelf compoſed. He wrote alſo a Hiſtory of *England*, and one of the Holy Land, with ſeveral treatiſes upon different ſubjects.

[*p*] See SCHELHORNII *Amœnitates Literariæ*, tom. xi. p. 324.

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The ſtudy of the Greek and Oriental languages.

VI. ROGER BACON [q], JOHN BALBI, and ROBERT CAPITO, with ſome other learned men, whoſe number was but inconſiderable, applied themſelves to the ſtudy of Greek literature. The Hebrew language and theology were much leſs cultivated; though it appears that BACON and CAPITO, already mentioned, and RAYMOND MARTIN, author of an excellent treatiſe, entitled, *Pugio Fidei Chriſtianæ*, or, *The Dagger of the Chriſtian Faith*, were extremely well verſed in that ſpecies of *erudition*. Many of the Spaniards, and more particularly the Dominican friars, made themſelves maſters of the Arabian learning and language, as the kings of *Spain* had charged the latter with the inſtruction and converſion of the Jews and Saracens who reſided in their dominions [r]. As to the Latin grammarians, the beſt of them were extremely barbarous and inſipid, and equally deſtitute of taſte and knowledge. To be convinced of this, we have only to caſt an eye upon the productions of ALEXANDER DE VILLA DEI, who was looked upon as the moſt eminent of them all, and whoſe works were read in almoſt all the ſchools from this period until the ſixteenth century. This pedantic Franciſcan compoſed, in

☞ [q] This illuſtrious Franciſcan was, in point of genius and univerſal learning, one of the greateſt ornaments of the Britiſh nation, and in general of the republic of letters. The aſtoniſhing diſcoveries he made in aſtronomy, chemiſtry, optics, and mathematics, made him paſs for a magician in the ignorant and ſuperſtitious times in which he lived, while his profound knowledge in philoſophy, theology, and the Greek and Oriental languages, procured him, with more juſtice, the title of the *admirable*, or *wonderful doctor*. Among other diſcoveries he is ſaid to have made that of the compoſition and force of gunpowder, which he deſcribes clearly in one of his letters; and he propoſed much the ſame correction of the Kalendar, which was executed about 300 years after by GREGORY XIII. He compoſed a prodigious number of books, of which the liſt may be ſeen in the *General Dictionary*, at the article BACON.

[r] See RICH. SIMON's *Lettres Choiſies*, tom. iii. p. 112.—NIC. ANTONII *Bibliotheca vetus Hiſpanica*.

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the year 1240, what he called, a *Doctrinale*, in *Leonine* verſe, full of the moſt wretched quibbles, and in which the rules of grammar and criticiſm are delivered with the greateſt confuſion and obſcurity, or rather, are covered with impenetrable darkneſs.

The ſtate of philoſophy.

VII. The various ſyſtems of philoſophy that were in vogue before this century, loſt their credit by degrees, and ſubmitted to the triumphant doctrine of ARISTOTLE, which erected a new and deſpotic empire in the republic of letters, and reduced the whole ideal world under its lordly dominion. Several of the works of this philoſopher, and more eſpecially his metaphyſical productions, had been ſo early as the beginning of this century tranſlated into Latin at *Paris*, and were from that time explained to the youth in the public ſchools [*s*]. But when it appeared, that ALMERIC [*t*] had drawn from theſe books his

[*s*] FRANC. PATRICII, *Diſcuſſiones Peripateticæ*, tom. i. lib. xi. p. 145.—JO. LAUNOIUS *de varia Ariſtot. fortuna in Acad. Pariſienſi*, cap. i. p. 127. ed. *Elſwich*. It is commonly reported, that the books of ARISTOTLE here mentioned, were tranſlated from Arabic into Latin. But we are told poſitively, that theſe books were brought from *Conſtantinople*, and tranſlated from Greek into Latin. See RIGORDUS, *De geſtis Philippi regis Francorum ad A.* 1209, in ANDR. CHESNII *Scriptor. Hiſtor. Franc.* p. 119.

☞ [*t*] ALMERIC, or AMAURI, does not ſeem to have entertained any enormous errors. He held that every Chriſtian was obliged to believe himſelf a member of JESUS CHRIST, and attached, perhaps, ſome extravagant and fanatical ideas to that opinion; but his followers fell into more pernicious notions, and adopted the moſt odious tenets, maintaining, that the power of the Father continued no longer than the Moſaic diſpenſation; that the empire of the Son extended only to the thirteenth century; and that then the reign of the Holy Ghoſt commenced, when all ſacraments and external worſhip were to be aboliſhed, and the ſalvation of Chriſtians was to be accompliſhed merely by internal acts of illuminating grace. Their morals alſo were as infamous as their doctrine was abſurd, and under the name of charity they comprehended and committed the moſt criminal acts of impurity and licentiouſneſs.

erroneous

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erroneous ſentiments concerning the divine nature, they were prohibited and condemned as pernicious and peſtilential, by a public decree of the council of *Sens*, in the year 1209 [*u*]. The logic of ARISTOTLE, however, recovered its credit ſome years after this, and was publicly taught in the univerſity of *Paris* in the year 1215; but the natural philoſophy and metaphyſic of that great man were ſtill under the ſentence of condemnation [*w*]. It was reſerved for the emperor FREDERIC II., to reſtore the Stagirite to his former glory, which this prince effected by employing a number of learned men, whom he had choſen with the greateſt attention and care [*x*], and who were profoundly verſed in the knowledge of the languages, to tranſlate into Latin, from the Greek and Arabic, certain books of ARISTOTLE, and of other ancient ſages. This tranſlation, which was recommended, in a particular manner, to the academy of *Bolonia* by the learned emperor, raiſed the credit of ARISTOTLE to the greateſt height, and gave him an irreſiſtible and deſpotic authority in all the European ſchools. This authority was ſtill farther augmented by the tranſlations,

☞ [*u*] Dr. MOSHEIM has fallen here into two light miſtakes. It was at *Paris*, and not at *Sens*, and in the year 1210, and not in 1209, that the metaphyſical books of ARISTOTLE were condemned to the flames. The writers quoted here by our author are LAUNOIUS, *De varia Ariſtotelis fortuna in Acad. Pariſ.* cap. iv. p. 195. and the ſame writer's *Syllabus rationum quibus Durandi cauſa defenditur*, tom. i. opp. pars I. p. 8.

[*w*] NAT. ALEXANDER, *Select. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Capita*, tom. viii. cap. iii. § 7. p. 76.

[*x*] PETR. DE VINEIS, *Epiſtolar.* lib. iii. ep. lxvii. p. 503. This epiſtle is addreſſed *ad magiſtros et ſcholares Bononienſes*, i. e. to *the maſters and ſcholars of the academy of Bolonia*; but it is more than probable, that the emperor ſent letters, upon this occaſion, to the other European ſchools. It is a common opinion, that this learned prince had all the works of ARISTOTLE, that were then extant, tranſlated into Latin about the year 1020; but this cannot be deduced from the letter above mentioned, nor from any other ſufficient teſtimony that we know of.

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which were made of ſome of the books of the Grecian ſage by ſeveral Latin interpreters, ſuch as MICHAEL SCOT, PHILIP of *Tripoly*, WILLIAM FLEMING, and others; though theſe men were quite unequal to the taſk they undertook, and had neither ſuch knowledge of the languages, nor ſuch an acquaintance with philoſophy, as were neceſſary to the ſucceſsful execution of ſuch a difficult enterpriſe [*y*].

Thomas Aquinas and others adopt and maintain the Ariſtotelian ſyſtem.

VIII. The Ariſtotelian philoſophy received the very laſt addition that could be made to its authority and luſtre, when the Dominican and Franciſcan friars adopted its tenets, taught it in their ſchools, and illuſtrated it in their writings. Theſe two mendicant orders were looked upon as the chief depoſitaries of all learning both human and divine; and were followed, with the utmoſt eagerneſs and aſſiduity, by all ſuch as were ambitious of being diſtinguiſhed from the multitude by their ſuperior knowledge. ALEXANDER HALES, an Engliſh Franciſcan, who taught philoſophy at *Paris*, and acquired, by the ſtrength of his metaphyſical genius, the title of the IRREFRAGABLE *Doctor* [*z*], and ALBERT the Great, a German, of the Dominican order, and biſhop of *Ratiſbon*, a man of vaſt abilities and a univerſal dictator at this time [*a*], were the two firſt emi-

[*y*] See WOOD's account of the interpreters of ARISTOTLE, in his *Antiquitat. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 119. as alſo JEBB's *Preface* to the *Opus Majus* of the famous ROGER BACON, publiſhed at *London* in folio, in the year 1733. We ſhall give here the opinion which BACON had of the tranſlators of ARISTOTLE, in the words of that great man, who expreſſes his contempt of theſe wretched interpreters in the following manner: *Si haberem* (ſays he) *poteſtatem ſupra libros Ariſtotelis Latine converſos, ego facerem omnes cremari, quia non eſt niſi temporis amiſſio ſtudere in illis, et cauſa erroris et multiplicatio ignorantiæ, ultra id quod valet explicari.*

[*z*] See LUCÆ WADDINGI *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 233.—DU BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 200. 673.

[*a*] Jo. ALB. FABRICII *Bibliotheca Latina medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 113.

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nent writers who illuſtrated, in their learned productions, the Ariſtotelian ſyſtem. But it was the diſciple of ALBERT, THOMAS AQUINAS, the *Angelic Doctor*, and the great luminary of the ſcholaſtic world, that contributed moſt to the glory of the Stagirite [*b*], by inculcating, illuſtrating, and enforcing his doctrines, both in his lectures and in his writings; and principally by engaging one of his learned colleagues to give, under his inſpection, a new tranſlation of the works of the Grecian ſage, which far ſurpaſſed the former verſion in exactneſs, perſpicuity, and elegance [*c*]. By theſe means the philoſophy of ARISTOTLE, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of ſeveral divines, and even of the Roman pontifs themſelves, who beheld its progreſs with an unfriendly eye, triumphed in all the Latin ſchools, and abſorbed all the other ſyſtems that had flouriſhed before this literary revolution.

The limits of ſcience are extended by ſeveral eminent men.

IX. There were, however, at this time in *Europe* ſeveral perſons of ſuperior genius and penetration, who, notwithſtanding their veneration for ARISTOTLE, thought the method of treating philoſophy, which his writings had introduced, dry, inelegant, and proper to confine and damp

[*b*] The Dominicans maintain, that this *Angelic Doctor* was the diſciple of ALBERT the Great, and their opinion ſeems to be founded in truth. See ANTOINE TOURON, *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 99. The Franciſcans however maintain as obſtinately, that ALEXANDER HALES was the maſter of THOMAS. See WADDINGI *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 133.

[*c*] It has been believed by many, that WILLIAM DE MOERBEKA, a native of *Flanders*, of the Dominican order, and archbiſhop of *Corinth*, was the author of the new Latin tranſlation of the Works of ARISTOTLE, which was carried on and finiſhed under the auſpicious inſpection of THOMAS AQUINAS. See J. ECHARD, *Scriptores Dominican.* tom. i. p. 338.—CASIM. OUDINUS, *Comm. de Scriptor. Eccleſ.* tom. iii. p. 468. Jo. FRANC. FOPPENS, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, tom. i. p. 416. Others however ſuppoſe, though indeed with leſs evidence, that this tranſlation was compoſed by HENRY KOSBEIN, who was alſo a Dominican. See ECHARD, *Script. Dominic.* tom. i. p. 469.

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the efforts of the mind in the purſuit of truth, and who, conſequently, were deſirous of enlarging the ſphere of ſcience by new reſearches and new diſcoveries [*d*]. At the head of theſe noble adventurers we may juſtly place ROGER BACON, a Franciſcan friar, of the Engliſh nation, known by the appellation of the *admirable doctor*, renowned on account of his moſt important diſcoveries, and who, in the progreſs he had made in natural philoſophy, mathematics, chemiſtry, the mechanic arts, and the learned languages, ſoared far beyond the genius of the times [*e*].

[*d*] BACON's contempt of the learning that was in vogue in his time may be ſeen in the following paſſage quoted by JEBB, in his *Preface* to the *Opus Majus* of that great man: *Nunquam*, ſays he, *fuit tanta apparentia ſapientiæ, nec tantum exercitium ſtudii in tot facultatibus, in tot regionibus, ſicut jam a quadraginta annis; ubique enim doctores ſunt diſperſi . . . in omni civitate, et in omni caſtro, et in omni burgo, præcipue per duos ordines ſtudentes* (he means the Franciſcans and Dominicans, who were almoſt the only religious orders that diſtinguiſhed themſelves by an application to ſtudy) *quod non accidit, niſi a quadraginta annis aut circiter, cum tamen nunquam fuit* TANTA IGNORANTIA, TANTUS ERROR . . . *Vulgus ſtudentium languet et aſininat circa male tranſlata* (by theſe wretched verſions he underſtands the works of ARISTOTLE, which were moſt miſerably tranſlated by ignorant bunglers) *et tempus et ſtudium amittit in omnibus et expenſas. Apparentia quidem ſola tenet eos, et non curant quid ſciant, ſed quid videantur ſcire coram multitudine inſenſata.* Thus, according to BACON, in the midſt of the moſt ſpecious appearance of ſcience, the greateſt ignorance and the groſſeſt errors reigned almoſt univerſally.

[*e*] That BACON deſerves this high rank in the learned world appears evidently from his book, entitled *Opus Majus*, which was dedicated to the Roman pontif, CLEMENT IV., and which doctor JEBB publiſhed at *London* in 1733, from a manuſcript which ſtill exiſts in the univerſity of *Dublin*, enriching it with a learned Preface and a conſiderable number of judicious obſervations. The other works of BACON, which are very numerous, lie as yet for the moſt part concealed in the libraries of the curious. For a farther account of this eminent man, ſee WOOD, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 136.—WADDINGI *Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 264. tom. v. p. 51.—THOM. GALE *ad Jamblichum de Myſteriis Ægyptior.* p. 255. *General Hiſt. and Crit. Dictionary*, at the article BACON.

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With him we may aſſociate ARNOLD of *Villa Nova*, whoſe place of nativity is fixed by ſome in *France*, by others in *Spain*, and who acquired a ſhining reputation by his knowledge in chemiſtry, poetry, philoſophy, languages, and phyſic [*f*]; as alſo, PETRUS DE ABANO, a phyſician of *Padua*, who was ſurnamed the *Reconciler*, from a book he wrote with a deſign to terminate the diſſenſions and conteſts that reigned among the philoſophers and phyſicians [*g*], and who was profoundly verſed in the ſciences of philoſophy, aſtronomy, phyſic, and mathematics [*h*]. It muſt, however, be obſerved, to the eternal diſhonour of the age, that the only fruits which theſe great men enjoyed of their learned labours, and their noble, as well as ſucceſsful, efforts for the advancement of the arts and ſciences, were the furious clamours of an enraged and ſuperſtitious multitude, who looked upon them as heretics and magicians, and thirſted ſo eagerly after their blood, that they eſcaped with difficulty the hands of the public executioner. BACON was confined many years to a loathſome priſon; and the other two were, after their death, brought before the tribunal of the inquiſition, and declared worthy of being committed to the flames for the novelties they had introduced into the republic of letters.

The ſtudy of law and phyſic.

X. The ſtate of theology, and the method of teaching and repreſenting the doctrines of Chriſ-

[*f*] See NIC. ANTONII *Biblioth. vetus Hiſpan.* tom. ii. lib. ix. c. i. p. 74.—PIERRE JOSEPH *Vie d'Arnaud de Ville neuve*, Aix, 1719.—NICERON, *Memoires des hommes illuſtres*, tom. xxxiv. p. 82.—NICOL. EYMERICI *Directorium Inquiſitorum*, p. 282. where, among other things, we have an account of his errors.

[*g*] This book was entitled, *Conciliator Differentiarum Philoſophorum et Medicorum.*

[*h*] There is a very accurate account of this philoſopher given by JOH. MARIA MAZZUCHELLI *Notizie Storiche e Critiche intorno alla vita di Pietro d'Abano*, in ANGELI CALOGERÆ *Opuſculi Scientifici et Philologici*, tom. xiii. p. i.—liv.

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tianity that now prevailed, ſhall be mentioned in their place. The civil and canon laws held the firſt rank in the circle of the ſciences, and were ſtudied with a peculiar zeal and application by almoſt all who were ambitious of literary glory. Theſe ſciences, however, notwithſtanding the aſſiduity with which they were cultivated, were far from being, as yet, brought to any tolerable degree of perfection. They were disfigured by the jargon that reigned in the ſchools, and they were corrupted and rendered intricate by a multitude of trivial commentaries that were deſigned to illuſtrate and explain them. Some employed their labours in collecting the letters of the Roman pontifs, which are commonly known under the title of *Decretals* [*i*], and which were looked upon as a very important branch of eccleſiaſtical law. RAIMOND of *Pennafort*, a native of *Barcelona*, was the moſt famous of all theſe compilers, and acquired a conſiderable reputation by his collection of the Decretals in five books, which he undertook at the deſire of GREGORY IX., and which has been ſince honoured with the name of that pontif, who ordered it to be added to the Decretals of GRATIAN, and to be read in all the European colleges [*k*]. Towards the concluſion of this century, BONIFACE VIII. had a new collection made, which was entitled, *The Sixth Book of Decretals*, becauſe it was added to the five already mentioned.

[*i*] See BOULAY, *Hiſt. Academ. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 98.

[*k*] GERH. A MASTRICHT, *Hiſtoria juris Eccleſiaſtici*, § 353. p. 384.—JO. CHIFLET, *De juris utriuſque Architectis*, cap. vi. p. 60.—ECHARD et QUETIF, *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom i. p. 106.—*Acta Sanctor. Antwerp.* tom. i. *Januarii ad d.* vii. p. 404.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the doctors and miniſters of the church, and its form of government, during this century.

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The corruption of the clergy.

I. BOTH the Greek and Latin writers, provoked, beyond meaſure, by the flagitious lives of their ſpiritual rulers and inſtructors, complain loudly of their licentious manners, and load them with the ſevereſt reproaches; nor will theſe complaints and reproaches appear exceſſive to ſuch as are acquainted with the hiſtory of this corrupt and ſuperſtitious age [*l*]. Several eminent men attempted to ſtem this torrent of licentiouſneſs, which from the heads of the church had carried its pernicious ſtreams through all the members; but their power and influence were unequal to ſuch a difficult and arduous enterprize. The Grecian emperors were prevented from executing any project of this kind by the infelicity of the times, and the various calamities and tumults, that not only reigned in their dominions, but even ſhook the throne on which they ſat; while the power and opulence of the Roman pontifs and the ſuperſtition of the age hindered the Latins from accompliſhing, or even attempting, a reformation in the church.

And of the Roman pontifs.

II. The hiſtory of the popes preſents a lively and horrible picture of the complicated crimes that diſhonoured the miniſters of the church, who were peculiarly obliged, by their ſacred office, to exhibit to the world diſtinguiſhed mo-

[*l*] See the remarkable letter of the Roman pontif, GREGORY IX., to the archbiſhop of *Bourges*, which was written in the year 1227, with a deſign to reprove and reform the vices which had infeſted all the various orders of the clergy, and which is publiſhed by DION. SAMMARTHANUS, in his *Gallia Chriſtiana*, tom. ii. in *Append.* p. 21.—See alſo DU FRESNE, *Adnotat. in Vitam Ludovici Sti.* p. 99.

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dels of piety and virtue. Such of the Sacerdotal order as were advanced to places of authority in the church, behaved rather like tyrants than rulers, and ſhowed manifeſtly, in all their conduct, that they aimed at an abſolute and unlimited dominion. The popes, more eſpecially, inculcated that pernicious maxim, "That the biſhop "of *Rome* is the ſupreme lord of the univerſe, "and that neither princes nor biſhops, civil go- "vernors nor eccleſiaſtical rulers, have any law- "ful power in church or ſtate but what they "derive from him." This extravagant maxim, which was conſidered as the ſum and ſubſtance of papal juriſprudence, the Roman pontifs maintained obſtinately, and left no means unemployed, that perfidy or violence could ſuggeſt, to give it the force of a univerſal law. It was in conſequence of this arrogant pretenſion, that they not only claimed the right of diſpoſing of eccleſiaſtical *benefices*, as they are commonly called, but alſo of conferring civil dominion, and of dethroning kings and emperors, according to their good pleaſure. It is true, this maxim was far from being univerſally adopted; many placed the authority of councils above that of the pontifs, and ſuch of the European kings and princes as were not ingloriouſly blinded and enſlaved by the ſuperſtition of the times, aſſerted their rights with dignity and ſucceſs, excluded the pontifs from all concern in their civil tranſactions, nay, even reſerved to themſelves the ſupremacy over the churches that were eſtabliſhed in their dominions [*m*]. In oppoſing thus the haughty

[*m*] As a ſpecimen of this, the reader may peruſe the letters of INNOCENT III., and the emperor OTHO IV., which have been collected by the learned GEORGE CHRIST. GEBAUR, in his *Hiſtory of the Emperor* RICHARD, written in German, p. 611—614. Other princes, and more eſpecially the kings of *England* and *France*, diſplayed, in the defence of their rights and privileges, the ſame zeal that animated OTHO.

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pretenſions of the lordly pontifs, it was, indeed, neceſſary to proceed with mildneſs, caution, and prudence, on account of the influence which theſe ſpiritual tyrants had uſurped over the minds of the people, and the power they had of alarming princes, by exciting their ſubjects to rebellion.

The power of creating biſhops, abbots, &c. claimed by the pontifs.

III. In order to eſtabliſh their authority, both in civil and eccleſiaſtical matters, upon the firmeſt foundations, the Roman pontifs aſſumed to themſelves the power of diſpoſing of the various offices of the church, whether of a higher or more ſubordinate nature, and of creating *biſhops*, *abbots*, and *canons*, according to their fancy. Thus we ſee the ghoſtly heads of the church, who formerly diſputed with ſuch ardour againſt the emperors in favour of the free election of biſhops and abbots, overturning now all the laws that related to the election of theſe ſpiritual rulers, reſerving for themſelves the revenues of the richeſt benefices, conferring vacant places upon their clients and their creatures, nay, often depoſing biſhops that had been duly and lawfully elected, and ſubſtituting, with a high hand, others in their room [*n*]. The hypocritical pretexts for all theſe arbitrary proceedings were an ardent zeal for the welfare of the church, and an anxious concern, leſt devouring *heretics* ſhould get a footing among the flock of CHRIST [*o*]. The firſt of the pontifs, who uſurped ſuch an extravagant extent of authority, was INNOCENT III., whoſe example was followed by HONORIUS III.,

[*n*] Many examples of this may be taken from the hiſtory of this century. See STEPH. BALUZII *Miſcellan.* tom. vii. p. 443. 466. 470. 488. 491. 493.—*Galila Chriſtiana*, tom. i. p. 69. *Append.*—LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor. in Diplomat.*—WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 148. 201, 202.

[*o*] See the *Epiſtle of* INNOCENT IV., in BALUZ. *Miſcellan.* tom. vii. p. 468.

GREGORY

GREGORY IX., and ſeveral of their ſucceſſors. But it was keenly oppoſed by the biſhops, who had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of nominating to the ſmaller benefices, and ſtill more effectually by the kings of *England* and *France*, who employed the force of warm remonſtrances and vigorous edicts to ſtop the progreſs of this new juriſprudence [*p*]. LEWIS IX., king of *France*, and now the tutelar ſaint of that nation, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the noble oppoſition he made to theſe papal encroachments. In the year 1268, before he ſet out for the Holy Land, he ſecured the rights of the Gallican church againſt the inſidious attempts of the Roman pontifs, by that famous edict known in *France* by the name of the *pragmatic ſanction* [*q*]. This reſolute and prudent meaſure rendered the pontifs more cautious and ſlow in their proceedings, but did not terrify them from the proſecution of their purpoſe. For BONIFACE VIII. maintained, in the moſt expreſs and impudent terms, that the univerſal church was under the dominion of the pontifs, and that princes and lay-patrons, councils and chapters, had no more power in ſpiritual things, than what they derived from CHRIST's vicar upon earth.

IV. The legates, whom the pontifs ſent into the provinces, to repreſent their perſons, and execute their orders, imitated perfectly the avarice and inſolence of their maſters. They violated the privileges of the chapters; diſpoſed of the ſmaller, and ſometimes of the more important eccleſiaſtical benefices, in favour of ſuch as had gained them by bribes, or ſuch like conſiderations [*r*]; The authority of the pope's legates.

[*p*] BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 659. and principally tom. iv. p. 911.

[*q*] Idem, ib. p. 389.

[*r*] See BALUZII *Miſcellanea*, tom. vii. p. 437. 475. 480, &c.

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extorted money from the people by the vileſt and moſt iniquitous means; ſeduced the unwary by forged letters and other ſtratagems of that nature; excited tumults among the multitude, and were, themſelves, the ringleaders of the moſt furious and rebellious factions; carried on, in the moſt ſcandalous manner, the impious traffick of *relicks* and *indulgencies*, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſeveral acts of profligacy ſtill more heinous than the practices now mentioned. Hence we find the writers of this age complaining unanimouſly of the flagitious conduct and the enormous crimes of the pope's legates [*s*]. Nay, we ſee the Roman pontif ALEXANDER IV., enacting, in the year 1256, a ſevere law againſt the avarice and frauds of theſe corrupt miniſters [*t*], which, however, they eaſily evaded, by their friends and their credit at the court of *Rome*.

The wealth and revenues of the pontif augmented.

V. From the ixth century to this period, the wealth and revenues of the pontifs had not received any conſiderable augmentation; but at this time they were vaſtly increaſed under INNOCENT III. and NICOLAS III., partly by the events of war, and partly by the munificence of kings and emperors. INNOCENT was no ſooner ſeated in the papal chair, than he reduced under his juriſdiction the præfect of *Rome*, who had hitherto been conſidered as ſubject to the emperor, to whom he had taken an oath of allegiance in entering upon his office. He alſo ſeized upon *Ancona*, *Spoletto*, *Aſſiſi*, and ſeveral cities and fortreſſes which had, according to him, been un-

[*s*] See that judicious and excellent writer MATTH. PARIS, in his *Hiſtoria Major*, p. 313. 316. 549. and particularly p. 637. where we find the following remarkable words: *Semper ſolent legati quales, et omnes nuncii papales regna quæ ingrediuntur depauperare, vel aliquo modo perturbare.* See alſo BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 659.

[*t*] This edict is publiſhed by LAMI, in his *Deliciæ Eruditorum*, tom. ii. p. 300.

juſtly

juſtly alienated from the patrimony of ST. PETER [*u*]. On the other hand, FREDERIC II., who was extremely deſirous that the pope ſhould eſpouſe his quarrel with OTHO IV., loaded the Roman ſee with the richeſt marks of his munificence and liberality, and not only made a noble preſent in valuable lands to the pope's brother [*w*], but alſo permitted RICHARD count of *Fundi* to leave, by will, all his poſſeſſions to the Roman ſee [*x*], and confirmed the immenſe donation that had formerly been made to it by the opulent MATILDA. Such was the progreſs that INNOCENT III. made, during his pontificate, in augmenting the ſplendour and wealth of the church. NICOLAS IV. followed his example with the warmeſt emulation, and, in the year 1278, gave a remarkable proof of his arrogance and obſtinacy, in refuſing to crown the emperor RODOLPHUS I., before he had acknowledged and confirmed, by a ſolemn treaty, all the pretenſions of the Roman ſee, of which, if ſome were plauſible, the greateſt part were altogether groundleſs, or, at leaſt, extremely dubious. This agreement, to which all the Italian princes, that were ſubject to the emperor, were obliged to accede, was no ſooner concluded, than NICOLAS reduced under his temporal dominion ſeveral cities and territories in *Italy*, that had formerly been annexed to the imperial crown, particularly *Romania* and *Bologna*. It was therefore under theſe two pontifs, that the ſee of *Rome* arrived, partly by force, and partly by artifice, at that high degree of

[*u*] See FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Romanor. Pontif.* tom. iii. p. 161.—MURATORII *Antiq. Italicæ*, tom. i. p. 328.

[*w*] This brother of the pontif was called RICHARD. See for an account of this tranſaction, MURATORI's *Antiquitat. Italicæ*, tom. v. p. 652.

[*x*] ODOR. RAYNALDUS, *Continuat. Annal. Baronii, ad A.* 1212, § ii.

grandeur

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grandeur and opulence, which it yet maintains in our times [*y*].

The tyrannic pontificate of Innocent III., proved by several examples.

VI. INNOCENT III., who remained at the head of the church until the year 1216, followed the ſteps of GREGORY VII., and not only uſurped the deſpotic government of the church, but alſo claimed the empire of the world, and thought of nothing leſs than ſubjecting the kings and princes of the earth to his lordly ſceptre. He was a man of learning and application; but his cruelty, avarice, and arrogance [*z*] clouded the luſtre of any good qualities which his panegyriſts have thought proper to attribute to him. In *Aſia* and *Europe*, he diſpoſed of crowns and ſceptres with the moſt wanton ambition. In *Aſia*, he gave a king to the Armenians: in *Europe*, he uſurped the ſame extravagant privilege in the year 1204, and conferred the regal dignity upon PRIMISLAUS, duke of *Bohemia* [*a*]. The ſame year he ſent to JOHANNICIUS, duke of *Bulgaria* and *Walachia*, an extraordinary legate, who, in the name of the pontif, inveſted that prince with the enſigns and honours of royalty, while, with his own hand, he crowned PETER II. of *Arragon*, who had rendered his dominions ſubject and tributary to the church, and ſaluted him publicly at *Rome* with the title of King [*b*]. We omit many other examples of this frenetic pretenſion to univerſal empire, which might be produced from the *letters* of this arrogant pontif, and many other acts of deſpotiſm, which *Europe* beheld with aſtoniſhment, but alſo, to its eternal reproach, with the ignominious ſilence of a paſſive obedience.

[*y*] See RAYNALDUS, *loc. cit. ad A.* 1278, § 47.

[*z*] See MATTH. PARIS, *Hiſtor. Major*, p. 206. 230.

☞ [*a*] Other hiſtorians affirm, that it was the emperor PHILIP that conferred the royal dignity upon PRIMISLAUS, in order to ſtrengthen his party againſt OTHO.

[*b*] MURATORII *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi. p. 116. —JO. DE FERRERA, *Hiſtoire d'Eſpagne*, tom. iv. p. 8.

VII.

VII. The ambition of this pope was not ſatisfied with the diſtribution and government of theſe petty kingdoms. He extended his views farther, and reſolved to render the power and majeſty of the Roman ſee formidable to the greateſt European monarchs, and even to the emperors themſelves. When the empire of *Germany* was diſputed, towards the commencement of this century, between PHILIP, duke of *Swabia*, and OTHO IV., third ſon of HENRY LION, he eſpouſed, at firſt, the cauſe of OTHO, thundered out his excommunications againſt PHILIP, and, upon the death of the latter, which happened in the year 1209, he placed the imperial diadem upon the head of his adverſary. But as OTHO was, by no means, diſpoſed to ſubmit to this pontif's nod, or to ſatisfy to the full his ambitious deſires, he incurred, of conſequence, his lordly indignation; and INNOCENT, declaring him, by a ſolemn excommunication, unworthy of the empire, raiſed in his place FREDERIC II., his pupil, the ſon of HENRY VI., and king of the two *Sicilies*, to the imperial throne in the year 1212 [*c*]. The ſame pontif excommunicated PHILIP AUGUSTUS, king of *France*, for having diſſolved his marriage with INGERBURG, a princeſs of *Denmark*, and eſpouſed another in her place; nor did he ceaſe to purſue this monarch with his anathemas, until he engaged him to receive the divorced queen, and to reſtore her to her loſt dignity [*d*].

VIII. But of all the European princes none felt, in ſo diſhonourable and ſevere a manner, the deſpotic fury of this inſolent pontif as JOHN, ſurnamed *Sans terre*, king of *England*. This prince

[*c*] All this is amply illuſtrated in the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. iii. lib. vii. p. 247.

[*d*] BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 8.—DANIEL, *Hiſtoire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 475.—GERHARD. DU BOIS, *Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 204—257.

oppoſed vigorouſly the meaſures of INNOCENT, who had ordered the monks of *Canterbury* to chuſe STEPHEN LANGTON, a Roman cardinal of Engliſh deſcent, archbiſhop of that ſee, notwithſtanding the election of JOHN DE GREY to that high dignity, which had been regularly made by the convent, and had been confirmed by royal authority [*e*]. The pope, after having conſecrated LANGTON at *Viterbo*, wrote a ſoothing letter in his favour, to the king, accompanied with four rings, and a myſtical comment upon the precious ſtones with which they were enriched. But this preſent was not ſufficient to avert the juſt indignation of the offended monarch, who ſent a body of troops to drive out of the kingdom the monks of *Canterbury*, who had been engaged by the pope's menaces to receive LANGTON as their archbiſhop. The king alſo declared to the pontif, that, if he perſiſted in impoſing a prelate upon the ſee of *Canterbury*, in oppoſition to a regular election already made, the conſequences of ſuch preſumptuous obſtinacy would, in the iſſue, prove fatal to the papal authority in *England*. INNOCENT was ſo far from being terrified by this menacing remonſtrance, that, in the year 1200, he ſent orders to the biſhops of *London*, *Worceſter*, and *Ely*, to lay the kingdom under an *interdict*, in caſe the monarch refuſed to yield and to receive LANGTON. JOHN, alarmed at this terrible menace, and unwilling to break entirely with the pope, declared his readineſs to

☞ [*e*] Dr. MOSHEIM paſſes lightly over this rupture between king JOHN and INNOCENT III., mentioning in a few lines the interdict under which *England* was laid by that pontif, the excommunication he iſſued out againſt the king's perſon, and the impious act by which he abſolved the Engliſh from their allegiance. The tranſlator, however, thought this event of too great importance to be treated with ſuch brevity, and has, therefore, taken the liberty to enlarge conſiderably this eighth ſection, which contains but eleven lines in the original.

confirm

confirm the election made at *Rome*; but, in the act that was drawn up for this purpoſe, he wiſely threw in a clauſe to prevent any interpretation of this compliance, that might be prejudicial to his rights, dignity, and prerogative. This exception was rejected, and the *interdict* was proclaimed. A ſtop was immediately put to divine ſervice; the churches were ſhut; the adminiſtration of all the ſacraments was ſuſpended except that of baptiſm; the dead were buried in the highways without the uſual rites or any funeral ſolemnity. But, notwithſtanding this interdict, the Ciſtertian order continued to perform divine ſervice, and ſeveral learned and reſpectable divines, among which were the biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Norwich*, proteſted againſt the injuſtice of the pope's proceedings.

The interdict not producing the effects that were expected from it, the pontif proceeded to a ſtill farther degree of ſeverity and preſumption, and denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt the perſon of the Engliſh monarch. This ſentence, which was iſſued out in the year 1208, was followed about three years after by a bull, abſolving all his ſubjects from their oath of allegiance, and ordering all perſons to avoid him, on pain of excommunication. But it was in the year 1212, that INNOCENT carried his impious tyranny to the moſt enormous length, when, aſſembling a council of cardinals and prelates, he depoſed JOHN, declared the throne of *England* vacant, and wrote to PHILIP AUGUSTUS, king of *France*, to execute this ſentence, to undertake the conqueſt of *England*, and to unite that kingdom to his dominions for ever. He, at the ſame time, publiſhed another bull, exhorting all Chriſtian princes to contribute, whatever was in their power, to the ſucceſs of this expedition, promiſing ſuch as ſeconded PHILIP in this grand enterpriſe,

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enterprise, the same indulgences that were granted to those who carried arms against the infidels in *Palestine*. The French monarch entered into the views of the Roman pontif, and made immense preparations for the invasion of *England*. The king of *England*, on the other hand, assembled his forces, and was putting himself in a posture of defence, when PANDULF, the pope's legate, arrived at *Dover*, and proposed a conference in order to prevent the approaching rupture, and to conjure the storm. This artful legate terrified the king, who met him at that place, with an exaggerated account of the armament of PHILIP on the one hand, and of the disaffection of the English on the other; and persuaded him that there was no possible way left of saving his dominions from the formidable arms of the French king, but that of putting them under the protection of the Roman see. JOHN, finding himself in such a perplexing situation, and full of diffidence both in the nobles of his court and in the officers of his army, complied with this dishonourable proposal, did homage to INNOCENT, resigned his crown to the legate, and received it again as a present from the see of *Rome*, to which he rendered his kingdoms tributary, and swore fealty as a vassal and feudatory [*f*]. In the act by which he resigned, thus scandalously, his kingdoms to the papal jurisdiction, he declared that he had neither been compelled to this measure by fear nor by force; but that it was his own voluntary deed, performed by the advice, and with the consent, of the barons of his kingdom. He obliged himself and his heirs to pay an annual sum of seven hundred marks for *England*, and

[*f*] For a full account of this shameful ceremony, see MATTHEW PARIS, *Historia Major*, p. 189. 192. 195.—As also BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 67.—RAPIN THOYRAS, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. p. 304.

three

three hundred for *Ireland*, in acknowledgment of the pope's ſupremacy and juriſdiction; and conſented that he or ſuch of his ſucceſſors as ſhould refuſe to pay the ſubmiſſion now ſtipulated, to the ſee of *Rome*, ſhould forfeit all their right to the Britiſh crown [*g*]. "This ſhameful ceremony "was performed, ſays a modern hiſtorian [*b*], "on Aſcenſion-day, in the houſe of the Tem- "plars at *Dover*, in the midſt of a great con- "courſe of people, who beheld it with confuſion "and indignation. JOHN, in doing homage to "the pope, preſented a ſum of money to his re- "preſentative, which the proud legate trampled "under his feet, as a mark of the king's depend- "ence. Every ſpectator glowed with reſent- "ment, and the archbiſhop of *Dublin* exclaimed "aloud againſt ſuch intolerable inſolence. PAN- "DULF, not ſatisfied with this mortifying act of "ſuperiority, kept the crown and ſceptre five "whole days, and then reſtored them as a ſpecial "favour of the Roman ſee. JOHN was deſpiſed "before this extraordinary reſignation; but now "he was looked upon as a contemptible wretch, "unworthy to ſit upon a throne: while he "himſelf ſeemed altogether inſenſible of his diſ- "grace."

Honorius III.

IX. INNOCENT III. was ſucceeded in the pontificate by CONCIO SAVELLI, who aſſumed the title of HONORIUS III., ruled the church above ten years, and whoſe government, though not ſignalized by ſuch audacious exploits as thoſe of his predeceſſor, diſcovered, nevertheleſs, an ardent zeal for maintaining the pretenſions, and ſupporting the deſpotiſm, of the Roman ſee. It

☞ [*g*] *Cadet a jure regni*, is the expreſſion uſed in the *Charter of reſignation*, which may be ſeen at length in the *Hiſt. Major* of MATTHEW PARIS.

☞ [*b*] See the *Complete Hiſtory of England*, by Dr. SMOLLET, vol. i. p. 437.

was

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was in conſequence of this zeal, that the new pontif oppoſed the meaſures, and drew upon him the indignation of FREDERIC II., that magnanimous prince, on whoſe head he himſelf had placed, in the year 1220, the imperial crown. This ſpirited prince, following the ſteps of his illuſtrious grandfather, had formed the reſolution of confirming the authority, and extending the juriſdiction of the emperors in *Italy*, of depreſſing the ſmall ſtates of *Lombardy*, and reducing to narrower limits the immenſe credit and opulence of the pontifs and biſhops; and it was with a view to the execution of theſe grand projects, that he deferred the fulfilling of the ſolemn vow, by which he had engaged himſelf to march a formidable army againſt the infidels in *Paleſtine*. The pontif, on the other hand, urged, with importunity, the emperor's departure, encouraged, animated, and ſtrengthened, by ſecret ſuccours, the *Italian* ſtates that oppoſed his pretenſions, and reſiſted the progreſs of his power by all the obſtacles which the moſt fertile invention could ſuggeſt. Theſe conteſts, however, had not, as yet, brought on an open rüptue.

The calamities that aroſe from the ambition of Gregory IX.

X. In the year 1227, HUGOLINUS, biſhop of *Oſtia*, whoſe advanced age had not extinguiſhed the fire of his ambition, nor diminiſhed the firmneſs and obſtinacy of his ſpirit, was raiſed to the pontificate, aſſumed the title of GREGORY IX., and kindled the feuds and diſſenſions, that had already ſecretly ſubſiſted between the church and the empire, into an open and violent flame. No ſooner was he placed in the papal chair, than, contrary to all juſtice and order, he excommunicated the emperor for putting off his expedition againſt the Saracens another year, though that delay was manifeſtly owing to a fit of ſickneſs, which ſeized that prince when he was ready to embark for *Paleſtine*. In the year 1228, FREDE-

RIC

RIC at laſt ſet out and arrived in the Holy Land; but, inſtead of carrying on the war with vigour, as we have had already occaſion to obſerve, he entered into a truce with SALADIN, and contented himſelf with the recovery of *Jeruſalem*. The pretended vicar of CHRIST, forgetting (or rather unwilling to perſuade himſelf) that his maſter's *kingdom was not of this world*, made war upon the emperor in *Apuglia* during his abſence [*i*], and uſed his utmoſt efforts to arm againſt him all the European powers. FREDERIC, having received information of theſe perfidious and violent proceedings, returned into *Europe* in the year 1229, defeated the papal army, retook the places he had loſt in *Sicily* and in *Italy*, and the year following made his peace with the pontif, from whom he received a public and ſolemn abſolution. This peace, however, was but of a ſhort duration; nor was it poſſible for the emperor to bear the inſolent proceedings, and the imperious temper, of GREGORY. He therefore broke all meaſures with that headſtrong pontif, diſtreſſed the ſtates of *Lombardy* that were in alliance with the ſee of *Rome*, ſeized upon the iſland of *Sardinia*, which GREGORY looked upon as a part of his ſpiritual patrimony, and erected it into a kingdom for his ſon ENTIUS. Theſe, with other ſteps that were equally provoking to the avarice and ambition of GREGORY, drew the thunder of the Vatican anew upon the emperor's head in the year 1239. FREDERIC was excommunicated publicly with all the circumſtances of ſeverity that vindictive rage could invent, and was charged with the moſt flagitious crimes, and the moſt impious blaſphemies,

☞ [*i*] Under the feeble reign of HENRY III., the pope drew immenſe ſums out of *England* for the ſupport of this impious war, and carried his audacious avarice ſo far, as to demand the fifth part of the eccleſiaſtical revenues of the whole kingdom.

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by the exaſperated pontif, who ſent a copy of this terrible accuſation to all the courts of *Europe*. The emperor, on the other hand, defended his injured reputation by ſolemn declarations in writing, while, by his victorious arms, he avenged himſelf of his adverſaries, maintained his ground, and reduced the pontif to the greateſt ſtraits. To get rid of theſe difficulties, the latter convened, in the year 1240, a general council at *Rome*, with a view to depoſe FREDERIC by the unanimous ſuffrages of the cardinals and prelates, that were to compoſe that aſſembly. But the emperor diſconcerted that audacious project by defeating, in the year 1241, a Genoeſe fleet, on board of which the greateſt part of theſe prelates were embarked, and by ſeizing, with all their treaſures, theſe reverend fathers, who were all committed to cloſe confinement. This diſappointment, attended with others which gave an unhappy turn to his affairs, and blaſted his moſt promiſing expectations, dejected and conſumed the deſpairing pontif, and contributed probably to the concluſion of his days, which happened ſoon after this remarkable event [*k*].

Innocent IV.

XI. GEOFFRY, biſhop of *Milan*, who ſucceeded GREGORY IX., under the title of CELESTINE IV., died before his conſecration, and, after a vacancy of twenty months, the apoſtolic ſtool was filled by SINABALD, one of the counts of *Fieſque*, who was raiſed to the pontificate in the year 1243,

[*k*] Beſides the original and authentic authors collected by MURATORI, in his *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, and the German and Italian hiſtorians, few or none of whom are abſolutely void of partiality in their accounts of theſe unhappy conteſts between the empire and the papacy, ſee PETRUS DE VINIIS, *Epiſtol. lib.* i. and MATTH. PARIS, *Hiſtoria Major*. Add to theſe RAYNALDI *Annal.*—MURATORI *Annal. Italiæ*, tom. vii. & *Antiquit. Italic.* tom. iv. p. 325. 517. It muſt however be obſerved, that this branch of hiſtory ſtands yet in need of farther illuſtrations.

aſſumed

aſſumed the denomination of INNOCENT IV., and yielded to none of his predeceſſors in arrogance and fury [*l*]. His elevation, however, offered at firſt a proſpect of peace, as he had formerly been attached to the intereſts of the emperor, and accordingly the conferences were opened, and a reconciliation was propoſed; but the terms offered by the new pope were too imperious and extravagant, not to be rejected with indignation by the emperor [*m*]. Hence it was that INNOCENT, not thinking himſelf ſafe in any part of *Italy*, ſet out from *Genoa*, the place of his birth, for *Lyons* in the year 1244, and aſſembling there a council the following year, depoſed, in their preſence, though not with their approbation, the emperor FREDERIC, and declared the imperial throne vacant [*n*]. This unjuſt and inſolent meaſure was regarded with ſuch veneration, and looked upon as ſo weighty by the German princes, ſeduced and blinded by the ſuperſtition of the times, that they proceeded inſtantly to a new election, and raiſed firſt, HENRY, landgrave of *Thuringia*, and after his death, WILLIAM, count of *Holland*, to the head of the empire. FREDERIC, whoſe firm and heroic ſpirit ſupported without dejection theſe cruel viciſſitudes, continued to carry on the war in *Italy*, until a violent dyſentery ended his days in *Apulia*, the 13th of December, 1250. Upon the death of his formidable and magnanimous adverſary, INNOCENT returned into

[*l*] See MATTHEW PARIS, *Hiſtoria Major*, *ad A.* 1254. p. 771.

☞ [*m*] Theſe preliminary conditions were: 1*ſt*, That the emperor ſhould give up entirely to the church the inheritance which was left to it by MATHILDA; and, 2*dly*, That he would oblige himſelf to ſubmit to whatever terms the pope ſhould think fit to propoſe, as conditions of peace.

[*n*] This aſſembly is placed in the liſt of *œcumenical*, or general councils; but it is not acknowledged as ſuch by the Gallican church.

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Italy [o], hoping now to enjoy with ſecurity the fruits of his ambition. It was principally from this period, that the two famous factions, called *Guelphs* and *Guibelines*, of which the latter eſpouſed the cauſe of the emperors, and the former that of the pontifs, involved all the Italian ſtates in the moſt fatal diſſenſions, though their origin is much earlier than this century [p].

Alexander IV.

XII. RAYNALD, count of *Segni*, and biſhop of *Oſtia*, was raiſed to the pontificate after the death of INNOCENT, in the year 1254, and is diſtinguiſhed in the liſt of the popes by the name of ALEXANDER IV. During the ſix years and ſix months that he governed the ſee of *Rome*, his time was leſs employed in civil affairs, than in regulating the internal ſtate of the church, if we except the meaſures he took for the deſtruction of CONRADIN, grandſon of FREDERIC II., and for compoſing the tumults that had ſo long reigned without interruption in *Italy*. The mendicant friars, in particular, and among them the Dominicans and Franciſcans, were much favoured by this pontif, and received ſeveral marks of his peculiar bounty.

Urban IV.

He was ſucceeded in the Roman ſee, A. D. 1261, by URBAN IV., a native of *Troyes*, of obſcure birth, who, before his elevation to the pontificate, was patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, and after that period was more diſtinguiſhed by his inſtituting the *Feſtival of the body of Chriſt*, than by any other circumſtance in the courſe of his reign. He had, indeed, formed ſeveral important projects, but their execution was prevented by his death, which happened, in the year 1264, after a ſhort

[o] Beſides the writers already mentioned, ſee NICOL. DE CURRIO, *Vita Innocentii* IV., in BALUZII *Miſcellan.* tom. vii. p. 353.

[p] See MURATORII *Diſſertat. de Guelphis et Guibellinis*, in his *Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iv. p. 606.

reign

reign of three years. His ſucceſſor GUI FULCODI, or CLEMENS IV., a native of *France*, and biſhop of *Sabino*, who was raiſed to the ſee of *Rome* in the year 1265, did not enjoy much longer that high dignity. His name, however, makes a greater figure in hiſtory, and was rendered famous in many reſpects, and more eſpecially by his conferring the kingdom of *Naples* upon CHARLES of *Anjou*, brother to LEWIS IX. king of *France*. The conſequences of this donation are well known, and the fate of CONRADIN, the laſt deſcendant of FREDERIC II., who, after an unfortunate battle fought againſt CHARLES, was publicly beheaded by the barbarous victor, if not by the counſel, yet certainly with the conſent, of the Roman pontif, are well known to ſuch as have the ſmalleſt acquaintance with the hiſtory of theſe unhappy times.

Gregory X.

XIII. Upon the death of CLEMENT IV. [*q*], there aroſe warm and vehement conteſts among the cardinals concerning the election of a new pontif. Theſe debates, which kept the Roman ſee vacant during the ſpace of three years, were at length terminated in favour of THEALD, or THIBALD, a native of *Placentia*, and archbiſhop of *Liege*, who was raiſed to the pontificate in the year 1271, and aſſumed the title of GREGORY X. [*r*]. This devout eccleſiaſtic was in the Holy Land when he received the news of his election; and, as he had been an eye-witneſs of the miſerable condition of the Chriſtians in that country, he had nothing ſo much at heart, as the deſire of contributing to their relief. Hence it was, that, immediately after his conſecration, he ſummoned a council to meet at *Lyons*, in the year 1274, in

[*q*] Which happened in the year 1268.

[*r*] The records of this election are publiſhed by LUC. WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 330.

which the relief and maintenance of the Chriſtians in *Paleſtine*, and the re-union of the Greek and Latin churches, were the two great points, that were to come principally under deliberation. This aſſembly is acknowledged as the fourteenth general council, and is rendered particularly remarkable by the new regulations that were introduced into the manner of electing the Roman pontif, and more eſpecially by the famous law, which is ſtill in force, and by which it was enacted, that the cardinal electors ſhould be ſhut up in the conclave during the vacancy of the pontificate. With reſpect to the character and ſentiments of the new pope we ſhall only obſerve, that, though he ſeemed to be actuated by a milder ſpirit than many of his predeceſſors, yet he inculcated, without the leaſt heſitation, that odious maxim of GREGORY VII., that declared the biſhop of *Rome* the lord of the world, and, in a more eſpecial manner, of the Roman empire. It was in conſequence of this preſumptuous ſyſtem, that, in the year 1271, he wrote an imperious and threatening letter to the German princes, in which, deaf to the pretenſions and remonſtances of ALPHONSUS, king of *Caſtile* [*s*], he ordered them to elect an emperor without delay, aſſuring them, that if they did not do it immediately, he would do it for them. This letter produced the deſigned effect; an electoral diet was aſſembled at *Franckfort*, and RODOLPHUS, count of *Hapſburg*, was raiſed to the imperial throne.

☞ [*s*] ALPHONSUS, king of *Caſtile*, had been elected emperor in the year 1256, by the archbiſhop of *Triers*, the duke of *Saxony*, the margrave of *Brandenburg*, and the king of *Bohemia*, in oppoſition to RICHARD, duke of *Cornwall*, brother of HENRY III. king of *England*, who was at the ſame time raiſed to the ſame dignity by the archbiſhops of *Mentz* and *Bologn*, the count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and the duke of *Bavaria*.

XIV.

XIV. GREGORY X. was ſucceeded, in the year 1276, by PETER of *Tarantaiſe*, of the Dominican order, and biſhop of *Oſtia*, who aſſumed the name of INNOCENT V., and died about five months after his election. OTTOBONI, a native of *Genoa*, and cardinal of *St. Adrian*, was choſen in his place, took the title of ADRIAN V. [*t*], and, after having ruled the church during five weeks, was ſucceeded by PETER JULIAN, biſhop of *Tuſculum*, who enjoyed that high dignity about eight months, and is diſtinguiſhed in the papal liſt by the name of JOHN XXI. [*u*]. The ſee of *Rome* continued vacant for above ſix months after the death of the laſt-mentioned pontif, but was at length filled, in the month of November, 1277, by JOHN CAJETAN, of the family of *Urſins*, cardinal of *St. Nicolas*, whoſe name he adopted for his papal title. This famous pontif, as has been already obſerved, augmented greatly both the opulence and authority of the biſhops of *Rome*, and had formed vaſt projects, which his undaunted courage and his remarkable activity would have enabled him, without doubt, to execute with ſucceſs, had not death blaſted his hopes, and diſconcerted his ambitious ſchemes.

Innocent V. Adrian V. John XXI. Nicolas III.

XV. He was ſucceeded in the year 1281, about ſix months after his departure from this life, by SIMON DE BRIE, who adopted the name of MARTIN IV., and was not inferior to NICOLAS III., in ambition, arrogance, and conſtancy of mind, of which he gave ſeveral proofs during his pontificate. MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, the Grecian emperor, was one of the firſt princes, who was ſo-

Martin IV. Nicolas IV.

☞ [*t*] We read in the Latin, ADRIAN VI., which is more probably an error of the preſs, than a fault of the author.

☞ [*u*] In the original Dr. MOSHEIM obſerves, that theſe three ſucceſſors of GREGORY were elected and carried off by death in the year 1276; but here he has fallen into a ſlight miſtake; for JOHN XXI. died the 16th of May 1277.

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lemnly excommunicated by this audacious prieſt, and that, under the pretext of his having broken the peace that had been concluded between the Greek and Latin churches, at the council of *Lions* [*w*]. The ſame inſult was committed againſt PETER, king of *Arragon*, whom MARTIN not only excluded from the boſom of the church, but alſo depoſed from his throne, on account of his attempt upon *Sicily*, and made a grant of his kingdom, fiefs, and poſſeſſions to CHARLES, ſon of PHILIP the Bold [*x*], king of *France*. It was during the execution of ſuch daring enterprizes as theſe, and while he was meditating ſtill greater things for the glory of the Roman hierarchy, that a ſudden death, in the year 1285, obliged him to leave his ſchemes unfiniſhed. They were, however, proſecuted with great ſpirit by his ſucceſſor, JAMES SAVELLI, who choſe the denomination of HONORIUS IV., but was alſo ſtopt ſhort, in the midſt of his career, in the year 1287, having ruled the church only two years. JEROME D'ASCOLI, biſhop of *Palæſtrina*, who was raiſed to the pontificate in the year 1288, and is known by the name of NICOLAS IV., diſtinguiſhed himſelf, during the four years that he remained at the head of the church, by his aſſiduous application both to eccleſiaſtical and political affairs. Sometimes we ſee the diſputes of ſovereign powers left to his arbitration, and terminated by his deciſion; at other times, we find him maintaining the pretenſions and privileges of the church with the moſt reſolute zeal and the moſt obſtinate perſeverance; at other times, again, we ſee him employing, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, every probable method of propagating the goſpel among the

[*w*] This council had been held under the pontificate of GREGORY X.

[*x*] PHILIPPE LE HARDI, as he is called by the French.

Tartars

Tartars and other eaſtern nations. But the object which, of all others, occupied moſt the thoughts of this vigilant and zealous pontif, was the deſperate ſtate of the Chriſtians in *Paleſtine*, who were now reduced to the greateſt extremities of miſery and weakneſs. His laborious efforts were therefore employed for the reſtoration of their former grandeur; they were however employed in vain, and his death, which happened in the year 1292, diſconcerted all the projects he had formed for that purpoſe.

XVI. The death of this pontif was followed by a vacancy of three years in the ſee of *Rome*, which was owing to the diſputes that aroſe among the cardinals about the election of a new pope. Theſe diſputes were at length terminated, and the contending parties united their ſuffrages in favour of PETER, ſurnamed DI MURRONE, from a mountain where he had hitherto lived in the deepeſt ſolitude and with the utmoſt auſterity. This venerable old man, who was in high renown on account of the remarkable ſanctity of his life and converſation, was raiſed to the pontificate in the year 1294, and aſſumed the name of CELESTINE V. But the auſterity of his manners, which was a tacit reproach upon the corruption of the Roman court, and more eſpecially upon the luxury of the cardinals, rendered him extremely diſagreeable to a degenerate and licentious clergy; and this diſlike was ſo heightened by the whole courſe of his adminiſtration (which ſhewed that he had more at heart the reformation and purity of the church, than the increaſe of its opulence and the propagation of its authority) that he was almoſt univerſally conſidered as unworthy of the pontificate. Hence it was, that ſeveral of the cardinals, and particularly BENEDICT CAJETAN, adviſed him to abdicate the papacy, which he had accepted with ſuch reluctance, and they had the pleaſure

Celeſtine V.

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pleaſure of ſeeing their advice followed with the utmoſt docility. The good man reſigned his dignity the fourth month after his election, and died in the year 1296, in the caſtle of *Fumone*, where his tyrannic and ſuſpicious ſucceſſor kept him in captivity, that he might not be engaged, by the ſolicitations of his friends, to attempt the recovery of his abdicated honours. His memory was precious to the virtuous part of the church, and he was elevated to the rank of a ſaint by CLEMENT V. It was from him that the branch of the Benedictine order, called *Celeſtines*, and which yet ſubſiſts in *France* and *Italy*, derived its origin [*y*].

Boniface VIII.

XVII. BENEDICT CAJETAN, who had perſuaded the good pontif now mentioned to reſign his place, ſucceeded him in it in the year 1294, and took the name of BONIFACE VIII. We may ſay, with truth, of this unworthy prelate, that he was born to be a plague both to church and ſtate, a diſturber of the repoſe of nations, and that his attempts to extend and confirm the deſpotiſm of the Roman pontifs, were carried to a length that approached to frenzy. From the moment that he entered upon his new dignity, he laid claim to a ſupreme and irreſiſtible dominion over all the powers of the earth, both ſpiritual and temporal, terrified kingdoms and empires with the thunder of his bulls, called princes and ſovereign ſtates before his tribunal to decide their quarrels, augmented the papal juriſprudence with a new body of laws, which was entitled, *The Sixth Book of the Decretals*, declared war againſt the illuſtrious family of *Colonna*, who diſputed his title to the pontificate [*z*]; in a word, exhibited to the

[*y*] HELYOT, *Hiſtoire des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 180.

☞ [*z*] The reaſons they alleged for diſputing the title of BONIFACE to the pontificate were, that the reſignation of CELESTINE was not *canonical*, and, moreover, that it was brought about by fraudulent means.

church,

church, and to *Europe*, a lively image of the tyrannical adminiſtration of GREGORY VII., whom he perhaps ſurpaſſed in arrogance [*a*]. It was this pontif that, in the year 1300, inſtituted the famous jubilee, which, ſince that time, has been regularly celebrated in the Roman church, at certain fixed periods. But the conſideration of this inſtitution, which was ſo favourable to the progreſs of licentiouſneſs and corruption, as alſo the other exploits of BONIFACE, and his deplorable end, belong to the hiſtory of the following century [*b*].

New monaſtic orders.

XVIII. In the council of Lateran that was held in the year 1215, a decree had been paſſed, by the advice of INNOCENT III., to prevent the introduction of *new religions*, by which was meant, new monaſtic inſtitutions. This decree however ſeemed to be very little reſpected, either by that pontif or his ſucceſſors, ſince ſeveral religious orders, hitherto unknown in the Chriſtian world, were not only tolerated, but were moreover diſtinguiſhed by peculiar marks of approbation and favour, and enriched with various privileges and prerogatives. Nor will this tacit abrogation of the decree of INNOCENT appear at all ſurpriſing to ſuch as conſider the ſtate of the church in this century. For, not to mention many enormities that contributed to the ſuſpenſion of this decree, we ſhall only obſerve, that the enemies of Chriſtianity, and the *heretical* ſects, increaſed daily every where; and, on the other hand, the *ſecular*

[*a*] There is a hiſtory of this pontif written by Jo. RUBEUS, a Benedictine monk, whoſe work, which is entitled BONIFACIUS VIII., *e familia Cajetanorum principum Romanus pontifex*, was publiſhed at *Rome* in the year 1651, in 4to.

[*b*] In this account of the popes, I have chiefly followed DANIEL PAPEBROCH, FRANCIS PAGI, and MURATORI, in his *Annales Italiæ*, conſulting at the ſame time the original ſources collected by the laſt-mentioned author, in his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*.

clergy

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clergy were more attentive to their worldly advantages than to the intereſts of the church, and ſpent in mirth and jollity the opulence with which the piety of their anceſtors had enriched that ſacred body. The monaſtic orders alſo had almoſt all degenerated from their primitive ſanctity, and, exhibiting the moſt offenſive and ſhocking examples of licentiouſneſs and vice to public view, rendered by their flagitious lives the cauſe of hereſy triumphant, inſtead of retarding its progreſs. All theſe things being conſidered, it was thought neceſſary to encourage the eſtabliſhment of new monaſtic ſocieties, who, by the ſanctity of their manners, might attract the eſteem and veneration of the people, and diminiſh the indignation which the tyranny and ambition of the pontifs had ſo univerſally excited; and who, by their diligence and addreſs, their diſcourſes and their arguments, their power and arms, when theſe violent means were required, might diſcover, perſecute, convert, and vanquiſh the growing tribe of heretics.

Several of the monaſtic inſtitutions ſuppreſſed.

XIX. Of the religious ſocieties that aroſe in this century ſome are now entirely ſuppreſſed, while others continue to flouriſh, and are in high repute at this preſent time. Among the former we may reckon the *Humiliati* (a title expreſſive of great humility and ſelf-abaſement), whoſe origin may be traced to a much earlier period than the preſent century, though their order was confirmed and new modelled by INNOCENT III., who ſubjected it to the rule of St. BENEDICT. Theſe humble monks became ſo ſhockingly licentious in proceſs of time, that, in the year 1571, Pope PIUS V. was obliged to diſſolve their ſociety [c]. We may alſo place in the liſt of the ſuppreſſed monaſteries the *Jacobins*, who were

[c] HELYOT, *Hiſt. des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 152.

erected

erected into a religious order by INNOCENT III. [*d*], and who, in this very century, not long after the council of *Lyons*, were deprived of their charter; the *Vallifcholares*, or *fcholars of the valley*, fo called from their being inftituted by the *fcholares*, i. e. the four profeffors of divinity in the univerfity of *Paris*, and from a deep vale in the province of *Champagne* in which they affembled and fixed their refidence in the year 1234 [*e*]. This fociety, whofe foundation was laid about the commencement of this century, was formerly governed by the rule of St. AUGUSTIN, but is now incorporated into the order of the *Regular canons of St. Genivieve*. To the fame clafs belong the *order of the bleffed Virgin Mary the Mother of Chrift*, which had its commencement in the year 1266, and was fuppreffed in 1274 [*f*]; the *Knights of faith and charity*, who undertook to difperfe the bands of robbers that infefted the public roads in *France*, and who were favoured with the peculiar protection and approbation of GREGORY IX. [*g*]; the *Hermits of St. William duke of Aquitaine* [*h*]; not to mention the *Brethren of the fack*, the *Bethlehemites*, and other orders of inferior note, that ftarted up in this century, which, of all others, was the moft remarkable for the number and variety of monaftic eftablifhments, that date their origin from it [*i*].

[*d*] MATTH. PARIS, *Hift. Major*, p. 161.

[*e*] BOULAY, *Hiftor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 15.—*Acta Sanct. Menſ. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 482.

[*f*] DION. SAMMARTHANI *Gallia Chriſtiana*, tom. i. p. 653.

[*g*] *Gallia Chriſt.* tom. i. *Append.* p. 165.—MARTENE, *Voyage Liter. de deux Benedictins*, tom. ii. p. 23.

[*h*] JO. BOLLANDI *De ordine Eremitar. S. Guilielmi Comm. in actis SS. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 472.

[*i*] MATTH. PARIS, *Hift. Major*, p. 815. edit. *Watts.* Where, fpeaking of the prodigious number of convents that were founded in *England* during this century, he expreffeth himfelf thus: *Tot jam apparuerunt ordines in Anglia, ut ordinum confuſio videretur inordinata.*

XX.

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The convents that ſtill ſubſiſt.

XX. Among the convents that were founded in this century, and ſtill ſubſiſt, the principal place is due to that of the *ſervites*, i. e. *the ſervants of the bleſſed Virgin*, whoſe order was firſt inſtituted, A. D. 1223, in *Tuſcany*, by ſeven Florentine merchants, and afterwards made a great progreſs under the government of PHILIP BENIZI its chief. This order, though ſubjected to the rule of St. AUGUSTIN, was, nevertheleſs, erected in commemoration of the moſt holy widowhood of the bleſſed Virgin; for which reaſon its monks wear a black habit [*k*], and obſerve ſeveral rules unknown to other monaſteries. The prodigious numbers of Chriſtians, that were made priſoners by the Mahometans in *Paleſtine*, gave riſe, towards the concluſion of the XIIth century, to the inſtitution of the order, entitled, *The Fraternity of the Trinity*, which, in the following age, received a ſtill greater degree of ſtability, under the pontificate of HONORIUS III., and alſo of his ſucceſſor CLEMENT IV. The firſt founders of this inſtitution were JOHN DE MATHA and FELIX DE VALOIS, two pious men, who led an auſtere and ſolitary life at *Cerfroy*, in the dioceſe of *Meaux*, which is ſtill the ſeat of the principal convent of the order. The monks of this ſociety are called the *Brethren of the Holy Trinity*, becauſe all their churches are ſolemnly dedicated to that profound myſtery; they are alſo ſtyled MATHURINS, from their having a monaſtery at *Paris* erected in a place where there is a chapel conſecrated to St. MATHURIN, and *Brethren of the redemption of captives* [*l*], becauſe the grand deſign of their inſtitution

[*k*] Beſides the ordinary writers of the Monaſtic Hiſtory, ſee PAULI FLORENTINI *Dialog. de origine Ordinis Servorum*, in LAMII *Deliciis Eruditorum*, tom. i. p. 1—48.

☞ [*l*] BROUGHTON and ſome other writers make a diſtinction between the *Order of the redemption of captives*, and the *Fraternity*, or *Brethren of the Holy Trinity*. They allege, that

tution was to find out means for reſtoring liberty to the Chriſtian captives in the Holy Land, in which charitable work they are obliged to employ the third part of their revenue. Their manner of life was, at firſt, extremely abſtemious and auſtere; but its auſterity has been from time to time conſiderably mitigated by the indulgence and lenity of the pontifs [*m*].

The mendicant order.

XXI. The religious ſociety that ſurpaſſed all the reſt in the purity of its manners, the extent of its fame, the number of its privileges, and the multitude of its members, was that of the *Mendicant*, or begging friars, whoſe order was firſt eſtabliſhed in this century, and who, by the tenor of their inſtitution, were to remain entirely deſtitute of all fixed revenues and poſſeſſions. The preſent ſtate and circumſtances of the church rendered the eſtabliſhment of ſuch an order abſolutely neceſſary. The monaſtic orders, who wallowed in opulence, were, by the corrupting influence of their ample poſſeſſions, lulled in a luxurious indolence. They loſt ſight of all their religious

that the latter order was inſtituted at *Rome* by St. PHILIP NERI, in the year 1548, about 350 years after the firſt eſtabliſhment of the former; and that the monks, who compoſed it, were obliged, by their vow, to take care of the pilgrims who reſorted from all parts of the world to *Rome*, to viſit the tombs of St. PETER and St. PAUL.

[*m*] Beſide HELYOT and the other writers of the Monaſtic Hiſtory, ſee TOUSSAINT DE PLESSIS, *Hiſt. de l'Egliſe de Meaux*, tom. i. p. 172. and 566.—BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 523. ANT. WOOD, *Antiq. Oxonienſ.* tom. i. p. 133. In the ancient records, this ſociety is frequently ſtyled the *Order of Aſſes*, on account of the prohibition of the uſe of horſes, which made a part of their *rule*, and which obliged the mendicant monks to ride upon aſſes. See CAR. DU FRESNE's *Notes upon Joinville's Life of St.* LEWIS, p. 81. But at preſent, through the indulgence of the Roman pontifs, they are permitted to make uſe of horſes when they find them neceſſary. An order of the ſame kind was inſtituted in *Spain*, in the year 1228, by PAUL NOLASCO, under the title of the *Order of St.* MARY *for the redemption of captives*. See the *Acta Sanctorum Januar.* tom. ii. p. 980.

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obligations, trampled upon the authority of their ſuperiors, ſuffered hereſy to triumph unreſtrained, and the ſectaries to form aſſemblies in ſeveral places; in ſhort, they were incapable of contributing in any reſpect to promote the true intereſts of the church, and abandoned themſelves, without either ſhame or remorſe, to all manner of crimes. On the other hand, the enemies of the church, the various ſects which had left its communion, followed certain auſtere rules of life and conduct, which formed a ſtrong contraſt between them and the religious orders, and contributed to render the licentiouſneſs of the latter ſtill more offenſive and ſhocking to the people. Theſe ſects maintained, that voluntary poverty was the leading and eſſential quality in a ſervant of CHRIST, obliged their doctors to imitate the ſimplicity of the apoſtles, reproached the church with its overgrown opulence, and the vices and corruptions of the clergy, that flowed from thence as from their natural ſource, and by his commendation of poverty and contempt of riches, acquired a high degree of reſpect, and gained a prodigious aſcendant over the minds of the multitude. All this rendered it abſolutely neceſſary to introduce into the church a ſet of men, who, by the auſterity of their manners, their contempt of riches, and the external gravity and ſanctity of their conduct and maxims, might reſemble the doctors, who had gained ſuch reputation to the heretical ſects, and who might be ſo far above the allurements of worldly profit and pleaſure, as not to be ſeduced, by the promiſes or threats of kings and princes, from the performance of the duties they owed to the church, or from perſevering in their ſubordination to the Roman pontifs. INNOCENT III. was the firſt of the popes who perceived the neceſſity of inſtituting ſuch an order; and, accordingly, he gave ſuch monaſtic ſocieties as made a profeſſion

profeſſion of poverty the moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of his protection and favour. They were alſo encouraged and patronized by the ſucceeding pontifs, when experience had demonſtrated their public and extenſive uſefulneſs. But when it became generally known, that they had ſuch a peculiar place in the eſteem and protection of the rulers of the church, their number grew to ſuch an enormous and unwieldy multitude, and ſwarmed ſo prodigiouſly in all the European provinces, that they became a burthen, not only to the people, but to the church itſelf.

Its hiſtory.

XXII. The great inconveniency that aroſe from the exceſſive multiplication of the mendicant orders, was remedied by GREGORY X., in a general council which he aſſembled at *Lyons* in the year 1272. For here all the religious orders, that had ſprung up after the council held at *Rome*, in the year 1215, under the pontificate of INNOCENT III., were ſuppreſſed, and the *extravagant multitude of mendicants*, as GREGORY called them, were reduced to a ſmaller number, and confined to the four following ſocieties, or denominations, *viz.* the *Dominicans*, the *Franciſcans*, the *Carmelites*, and the *Hermits of St. Auguſtin* [*n*]. The *Carmelite* order, which had been inſtituted in *Paleſtine* during the preceding century, was, in this, tranſplanted into *Europe*, and, in the year 1226, was favoured by pope HONORIUS III., with a place among the monaſtic ſocieties, which enjoyed the protection and approbation of the church. The *Hermits of St. Auguſtin* had for their founder

[*n*] *Concil. Lugd.* II. *A.* 1274. Can. xxiii. in Jo. HARDUINI *Conciliis*, tom. vii. p. 715. *Importuna potentium inhiatio Religionum* (ſo were the religious orders entitled) *multiplicationem extorſit, verum etiam aliquorum præſumptuoſa temeritas diverſorum ordinum, præcipue Mendicantium* . . . . effrænatam multitudinem adinvenit . . . . *Hinc ordines Mendicantes poſt dictum concilium* (*i. e.* the council of Lateran held in 1215) *adinventos* . . . . *perpetuæ prohibitioni ſubjicimus.*

ALEXANDER IV. [o], who, obſerving that the *Hermits* were divided into ſeveral ſocieties, ſome of which followed the maxims of the famous WILLIAM, others the rule of St. AUGUSTIN, while others again were diſtinguiſhed by different denominations, formed the wiſe project of uniting them all into one religious order, and ſubjecting them to the ſame rule of diſcipline, even that which bears the name of St. AUGUSTIN. This project was put in execution in the year 1256.

Attracts the veneration and eſteem of the public.

XXIII. As the pontifs allowed theſe four Mendicant orders the liberty of travelling wherever they thought proper, of converſing with perſons of all ranks, of inſtructing the youth and the multitude wherever they went; and, as theſe monks exhibited, in their outward appearance and manner of life, more ſtriking marks of gravity and holineſs, than were obſervable in the other monaſtic ſocieties, they aroſe all at once to the very ſummit of fame, and were regarded with the utmoſt eſteem and veneration throughout all the countries of *Europe*. The enthuſiaſtic attachment to theſe ſanctimonious beggars went ſo far, that, as we learn from the moſt authentic records, ſeveral cities were divided, or cantoned out, into four parts, with a view to theſe four orders: the firſt part was aſſigned to the Dominicans; the ſecond, to the Franciſcans; the third, to the Carmelites; and the fourth, to the Auguſtinians. The people were unwilling to receive the ſacraments from any other hands than thoſe of the Mendicants, to whoſe churches they crowded to perform their devotions, while living, and were extremely deſirous to depoſit there alſo their remains after death; all which occaſioned grievous complaints among the ordinary prieſts, to

[o] This edict of pope ALEXANDER IV. is to be found in the new edition of the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. i. p. 110.— See alſo *Acta Sanctor. Menſ. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 472.

whom the cure of ſouls was committed, and who conſidered themſelves as the ſpiritual guides of the multitude. Nor did the influence and credit of the Mendicants end here; for we find in the hiſtory of this and of the ſucceeding ages, that they were employed not only in ſpiritual matters, but alſo in temporal and political affairs of the greateſt conſequence, in compoſing the differences of princes, concluding treaties of peace, concerting alliances, preſiding in cabinet-councils, governing courts, levying taxes, and other occupations, not only remote from, but abſolutely inconſiſtent with, the monaſtic character and profeſſion.

The Dominicans.

XXIV. We muſt not however imagine, that all the Mendicant friars attained to the ſame degree of reputation and authority; for the power of the Dominicans and Franciſcans ſurpaſſed greatly that of the other two orders, and rendered them ſingularly conſpicuous in the eyes of the world. During three centuries, theſe two fraternities governed, with an almoſt univerſal and abſolute ſway, both ſtate and church, filled the moſt eminent poſts eccleſiaſtical and civil, taught in the univerſities and churches with an authority, before which all oppoſition was ſilent, and maintained the pretended majeſty and prerogatives of the Roman pontifs againſt kings, princes, biſhops, and heretics, with incredible ardour and equal ſucceſs. The Dominicans and Franciſcans were, before the Reformation, what the Jeſuits have been ſince that happy and glorious period, the very ſoul of the hierarchy, the engines of the ſtate, the ſecret ſprings of all the motions of the one and the other, and the authors or directors of every great and important event both in the religious and political world. DOMINIC, a Spaniard by birth, a native of the village of *Calaroga*, deſcendant of the illuſtrious houſe of *Guzman*,

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man, and regular canon of *Oſma*, a man of a fiery and impetuous temper, and vehemently exaſperated by the commotions and conteſts which the heretics of different denominations had excited in the church, ſet out for *France* with a few companions, in order to combat the ſectaries, that were multiplied in that kingdom. This enterprize he executed with the greateſt vigour, and, we may add, fury, attacking the Albigenſes and the other enemies of the church with the power of eloquence, the force of arms, and ſubtilty of controverſial writings, and the terrors of the *inquiſition*, which owed its form to this violent and ſanguine prieſt. Paſſing from thence into *Italy*, he was honoured by the Roman pontifs INNOCENT III. and HONORIUS III. with the moſt diſtinguiſhed marks of their protection and favour; and, after many labours in the cauſe of the church, obtained from them the privilege of erecting this new fraternity, whoſe principal deſign was the extirpation of error, and the deſtruction of heretics. The firſt rule which he adopted for the new ſociety was that of the *Canons of St. Auguſtin*, to which he added ſeveral auſtere precepts and obſervances. But he afterwards changed the diſcipline of the canons for that of the monks; and, holding a chapter of the order at *Bologna* in the year 1220, he obliged the brethren to take a vow of abſolute poverty, and to abandon entirely all their revenues and all their poſſeſſions. He did not live long enough to ſee the conſequences of this reformation, for he died the year following at *Bologna* [*q*]. His monks were, at

[*q*] See JAC. ECHARD. and QUETIF *in Scriptoribus Ord. Dominic.* tom. i. p. 84.—*Acta Sanctor. April*, tom. iii. p. 872. —NICOL. JANSENII *Vita S. Dominici, Antwerp*, 1622, in 8vo. Add to theſe the long liſt of writers mentioned by FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliotheca Lat. med. ævi*, tom. ii. p. 137. and alſo ANTONII BREMONDI *Bullarium Ordinis Dominicani*, publiſhed ſome years ago at *Rome*.

firſt,

firſt, diſtinguiſhed by the denomination of *preaching friars*, becauſe public inſtruction was the main end of their inſtitution; but were afterwards called Dominicans after their founder [*r*]. [☞ Juſt before his death DOMINIC ſent GILBERT DE FRESNEY with twelve of the brethren into *England*, where they founded their firſt monaſtery at *Oxford* in the year 1221, and ſoon after, another at *London*. In the year 1276, the mayor and aldermen of the city of *London* gave them two whole ſtreets by the river *Thames*, where they erected a very commodious convent, whence that place is ſtill called *Black-Friars*, for ſo the Dominicans were called in *England*.]

The Franciſcans.

XXV. FRANCIS, the founder of the famous order that bears his name, was the ſon of a merchant of *Aſſiſi*, in the province of *Umbria*, and a young man who led, for ſome time, a moſt debauched and diſſolute life. Upon his recovery from a ſevere fit of ſickneſs, which was the conſequence and puniſhment of his licentious conduct, he changed his method of living, and, as extremes are natural to men of warm imaginations, fell into an extravagant kind of devotion, that looked leſs like religion than alienation of mind. Some time after this [*s*], he happened to be in a church, where he heard that paſſage of the ſcriptures repeated, in which CHRIST addreſſes his apoſtles in the following manner: *Provide neither gold, nor ſilver, nor braſs in your purſes, nor*

[*r*] The Dominicans are called *Fratres Majores* in ſeveral of the ancient records; ſee ANT. MATTHÆI *Analecta vet. ævi*, tom. ii. p. 172. This appellation, however, by which the Dominicans were ſet in oppoſition to the Franciſcans, who call themſelves *Fratres Minores*, is rather a term of deriſion than a real name. In *France* the Dominicans are called *Jacobins*, from the ſtreet where their firſt convent was erected at *Paris*, in the year 1218, which ſtreet was dedicated to *St. James*, and is ſtill known by the name of *Rue de St. Jaques*.

[*s*] In the year 1208.

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ſcrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither ſhoes, nor yet ſtaves, for the workman is worthy of his meat [*t*]. This produced a powerful effect upon his mind, made him conſider a voluntary and abſolute poverty as the eſſence of the goſpel and the ſoul of religion, and preſcribe this poverty as a ſacred rule both to himſelf and to the few that followed him. Such was the commencement of the famous Franciſcan order, whoſe founder and chief was, undoubtedly, a pious and well-meaning man, though groſsly ignorant, and manifeſtly weakened in his intellect by the diſorder from which he had but lately recovered. Nevertheleſs the new ſociety, which appeared to INNOCENT III. extremely adapted to the preſent ſtate of the church, and proper to reſtore its declining credit, was ſolemnly approved and confirmed by HONORIUS III., in the year 1223, and had already made a conſiderable progreſs when its devout founder was called from this life in the year 1226. FRANCIS, through an exceſſive humility, would not ſuffer the monks of his order to be called *Fratres*, i. e. *brethren*, or *friars*, but *Fraterculi*, i. e. *little brethren*, or *friars-minors* [*u*], by which denomination they ſtill continue to be diſtinguiſhed [*w*]. The Franciſcans came into *England*

[*t*] *Matthew*, x. 9, 10.

[*u*] They were called *Fratricelli* by the Italians, *Freres Mineurs* by the French, and *Fratres Minores* by the Latin writers.

[*w*] BONAVENTURE wrote a life of St. FRANCIS, which has paſſed through ſeveral editions. But the moſt ample and circumſtantial accounts of this extraordinary man are given by LUKE WADDING, in the firſt volume of his *Annal. Minorum*, which contains a complete hiſtory of the Franciſcan order, confirmed by a great number of authentic records, and the beſt edition of which is that publiſhed at *Rome* in 1731, and the following years, in eighteen volumes in folio, by JOSEPH MARIA FONSECA AB EBORA. It is to the ſame WADDING that we are obliged for the *Opuſcula Sti. Franciſci*, and the *Bibliotheca Ordinis Minorum*, the former of which was publiſhed in 4to at *Antwerp*, in the year 1623, and the latter at *Rome*, in 4to likewiſe,

land in the reign of HENRY III., and their firſt eſtabliſhment was at *Canterbury*.

The eminent ſervices rendered to the Roman pontifs by the Dominicans and Franciſcans.

XXVI. Theſe two celebrated orders reſtored the church from that declining condition in which it had been languiſhing for many years, by the zeal and activity with which they ſet themſelves to diſcover and extirpate heretics, to undertake various negotiations and embaſſies for the intereſts of the hierarchy, and to confirm the wavering multitude in their implicit obedience to the Roman pontifs. Theſe ghoſtly rulers, on the other hand, ſenſible of their obligations to the new monks, which, no doubt, were very great, not only employed them in every affair they looked upon as of high importance, and raiſed them to the moſt eminent ſtations in the church, but alſo accumulated upon them employments and privileges, which, if they enriched them on the one hand, could not fail to render them odious on the other [*x*], and to excite the envy and complaints of other eccleſiaſtics. Such, among many other extraordinary prerogatives, was the permiſſion

wiſe, in 1650. The other writers, who have given accounts of the Franciſcan order, are mentioned by Jo. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliotheca Lat. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 573.

[*x*] The popes were ſo infatuated with the Franciſcans, that thoſe whom they could not employ more honourably in their civil negotiations or domeſtic affairs, they made their publicans, beadles, &c. See for a confirmation of this, the following paſſages in the *Hiſtor. Major* of MATTHEW PARIS: *Fratres minores et prædicatores* (ſays he) *invitos, ut credimus, jam ſuos fecit dominus papa, non ſine ordinis eorum læſione et ſcandalo, teloniarios et bedellos*, p. 634.—*Non ceſſavit papa pecuniam aggregare, faciens de Fratribus prædicatoribus et minoribus, etiam invitis, non jam piſcatoribus hominum, ſed nummorum*, p. 639. Conf. p. 602. 664.—*Erant Minores et Prædicatores magnatum conſiliatores et nuntii, etiam domini papæ ſecretarii: nimis in hoc gratiam ſibi ſecularem comparantes*; *ad An.* 1236. p. 354.—*Facti ſunt eo tempore Prædicatores et Minores regum conſiliarii et nuntii ſpeciales, ut ſicut quondam mollibus induti in domibus regum erant, ita tunc qui vilibus veſtiebantur, in domibus, cameris, et palatiis eſſent principum*; *ad An.* 1239, p. 465.

they received from the pontifs, of preaching to the multitude, hearing *confeſſion*, and pronouncing *abſolution*, without any licenſe from the biſhops, and even without conſulting them; to which we may add the treaſure of ample and extenſive *indulgences*, whoſe diſtribution was committed by the popes to the Franciſcans, as a mean of ſubſiſtence, and a rich indemnification for their voluntary poverty [*y*]. Theſe acts of liberality and marks of protection, laviſhed upon the Dominican and Franciſcan *friars* with ſuch an ill-judged profuſion, as they overturned the ancient diſcipline of the church, and were a manifeſt encroachment upon the rights of the firſt and ſecond orders of the eccleſiaſtical rulers, produced the moſt unhappy and bitter diſſenſions between the Mendicant orders and the biſhops. And theſe diſſenſions, extending their contagious influence beyond the limits of the church, excited throughout all the European provinces, and even in the city of *Rome* [*z*], under the very eye of the pontifs, the moſt dreadful diſturbances and tumults. The meaſures taken by the popes to appeaſe theſe tumults were various, but ineffectual; becauſe their principal view was to ſupport the cauſe of their faithful ſervants and creatures, the Mendicant friars, and to maintain them in the poſſeſſion of their honours and advantages [*a*].

XXVII.

[*y*] See BALUZII *Miſcellan.* tom. iv. p. 490. tom. vii. p. 392.—It is well known that no religious order had the diſtribution of ſo many and ſuch ample *indulgences* as the Franciſcans. Nor could theſe good friars live and multiply as they did, without ſome ſource of profit, ſince, by their inſtitution, they were to be deſtitute of revenues and poſſeſſions of every kind. It was therefore in the place of fixed revenues, that ſuch fat *indulgences* were put into their hands.

[*z*] BALUZII *Miſcellan.* tom. vii. p. 441.

[*a*] See Jo. LAUNOII *Explicata Eccleſiæ Traditio circa Canonem: Omnis utriuſque Sexus*, tom. i. part I. opp. p. 247.—RICH. SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccleſiaſtiques*,

The diſpute between the Dominicans and the univerſity of *Paris*.

XXVII. Among all the controverſies which were maintained by the Mendicants, whether againſt the biſhops, abbots, ſchools, or other religious orders, none was ſo famous, as that which aroſe, in the year 1228, between the Dominicans and the univerſity of *Paris*, and was prolonged, with various ſucceſs, until the year 1259. The Dominicans claimed, as their unqueſtionable right, two theological claſſes in that celebrated univerſity, one of which had been taken from them, and an academical law paſſed, that no religious order ſhould have what the Dominicans demanded. Theſe latter, however, perſiſted obſtinately in reclaiming the profeſſorſhip they had loſt; while the doctors of the univerſity, perceiving the reſtleſs and contentious ſpirit that animated their efforts, excluded them from their ſociety, and formed themſelves into a ſeparate body. This meaſure was conſidered as a declaration of war; and, accordingly, the moſt vehement commotions aroſe between the contending parties. The debate was brought before the tribunal of the Roman pontif in the year 1255; and the deciſion, as might well have been expected, was in favour of the monks. ALEXANDER IV. ordered the univerſity of *Paris* not only to reſtore the Dominicans to their former place in that learned ſociety, but moreover to make a grant to them of as many claſſes or profeſſorſhips as they ſhould think proper to demand. This unjuſt and deſpotic ſentence was oppoſed by the univerſity with the utmoſt vigour, and thus the conteſt was renewed with double fury. But the magiſtrates of *Paris* were, at length, ſo terrified

tiques, par M. DU PIN, tom. i. p. 326.—LENFANT, *Hiſtoire du Concile de Piſe*, tom. i. p. 310. tom. ii. p. 8.—ECHARDI *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 404. The circumſtances of theſe flaming conteſts are mentioned by all the writers both of this and the following centuries.

and

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and overwhelmed with the thundering edicts and formidable mandates of the exaſperated pontif, that, in the year 1259, they yielded to ſuperior force, and ſatisfied the demands not only of the Dominican, but alſo of the Franciſcan order, in obedience to the pope, and to the extent of his commands [*b*]. Hence aroſe that ſecret enmity, that ſilent ill-will, which prevailed ſo long between the univerſity of *Paris* and the Mendicant orders, eſpecially the Dominicans, and which are not yet entirely extinguiſhed.

The Dominicans meet with a formidable adverſary.

XXVIII. In this famous debate none pleaded the cauſe of the univerſity with greater ſpirit, and aſſerted its rights with greater zeal and activity, than GUILLAUME DE ST. AMOUR, doctor of the Sorbonne, a man of true genius, worthy to have lived in better times, and capable of adorning a more enlightened age. This vigorous and able champion attacked the whole Mendicant tribe in various treatiſes with the greateſt vehemence, and more eſpecially in a book *Concerning the perils of the latter times.* He maintained publicly, that their diſcipline was in direct oppoſition to the precepts of the goſpel; and that, in confirming and approving it, the popes had been guilty of temerity, and the *church was become chargeable with error* [*c*]. What gave occaſion to the remarkable title of this famous book, was the author's being entirely perſuaded that the prophecy of St. PAUL, relating to the *perilous times that were to come in the laſt days* [*d*], was fulfilled in the eſtabliſhment

[*b*] See CÆS. EGASS. DU BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 138. 240. 244. 248. 266, &c.—Jo. CORDESII, or (to mention him by the name he aſſumes) Jo. ALITOPHILI *Præf. Hiſtor. et Apologetica ad Opera Guilielmi de S. Amore.*—ANTOINE TOURON, *Vie de S. Thomas*, p. 134.—WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 247. 366. tom. iv. p. 14. 52. 106. 263.—MATTH. PARIS, *Hiſtor. Major, ad An.* 1228, & NANGIS *Chronicon*, apud DACHERIUM; *Spicilegii*, tom. iii. p. 38.

[*c*] 2 *Timothy*, iii. 1.

[*d*] 2 *Timothy*, iii. 1.

of

of the Mendicant friars. This notion St. AMOUR maintained in the warmeſt manner, and proved it, principally, from the book called the *Everlaſting Goſpel*, which was explained publicly by the Dominicans and Franciſcans, and of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully hereafter. The fury and reſentment of the Mendicants were therefore kindled, in a peculiar manner, againſt this formidable adverſary, whom they perſecuted without interruption, until, in the year 1256, ALEXANDER VI. ordered his book to be publicly burnt, and baniſhed its author out of *France*, leſt he ſhould excite the Sorbonne to renew their oppoſition to theſe ghoſtly beggars. St. AMOUR ſubmitted to the papal edict, and retired into the *Franche Comté*, which was the place of his birth; but, under the pontificate of CLEMENT IV., he returned to *Paris*, where he illuſtrated the tenets of his famous book in a more extenſive work, and died univerſally eſteemed and regretted by all ranks and orders of men, except the Mendicants [*d*].

[*d*] The doctors of the univerſity of *Paris* profeſs ſtill a high reſpect for the memory of St. AMOUR, eſteem his book, and deny obſtinately that he was ever placed in the liſt of *heretics*. The Dominicans, on the contrary, conſider him as a heretic of the firſt magnitude, if we may uſe that expreſſion. Such of his works as could be found were publiſhed in 4to, in the year 1632, at *Paris* (though the title bears *Conſtantiæ*), by CORDESIUS, who has prefixed to them a long and learned Preface, in which he defends the reputation and orthodoxy of St. AMOUR in a triumphant manner. This learned editor, to avoid the reſentment and fury of the Mendicants, concealed his real name, and aſſumed that of Jo. ALITOPHILUS. This did not, however, ſave his book from the vengeance of theſe friars, who obtained from LEWIS XIII., in the year 1633, an edict for its ſuppreſſion, which TOURON, a Dominican friar, has publiſhed in his *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 164.—For a farther account of the life of this famous doctor, ſee WADDING, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 366. —BOYLAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 266.—NAT. ALEX. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* Sæc. xiii. cap. iii. Art. vii. p. 95.—RICH. SIMON. *Critique de la Biblioth. Eccleſ. de M.* DU PIN, tom. i. p. 345.

XXIX.

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The pride and arrogance of the Mendicants.

XXIX. While the pontifs accumulated upon the Mendicants the moſt honourable diſtinctions, and the moſt valuable privileges which they had to beſtow, they expoſed them ſtill more and more to the envy and hatred of the reſt of the clergy; and this hatred was conſiderably increaſed by the audacious arrogance that diſcovered itſelf every where in the conduct of theſe ſupercilious orders. They had the preſumption to declare publicly, that they had a divine impulſe and commiſſion to illuſtrate and maintain the religion of JESUS; they treated with the utmoſt inſolence and contempt all the different ranks and orders of the prieſthood; they affirmed, without a bluſh, that the true method of obtaining ſalvation was revealed to them alone, proclaimed with oſtentation the ſuperior efficacy and virtue of their *indulgences*, and vaunted, beyond meaſure, their intereſts at the court of heaven, and their familiar connexions with the Supreme Being, the Virgin MARY, and the ſaints in glory. By theſe impious wiles, they ſo deluded and captivated the miſerable and blinded multitude, that they would not entruſt any others but the Mendicants with the care of their ſouls, their ſpiritual and eternal concerns [*e*]. We may give, as a ſpecimen of theſe notorious frauds, the ridiculous fable, which the Carmelites impoſe upon the credulous, relating to SIMON STOCKIUS, the general of their order, who died about the beginning of this century. To this eccleſiaſtic, they tell us that the Virgin MARY appeared, and gave him a ſolemn promiſe, that the ſouls of ſuch as left the world with the Carmelite cloak or *ſcapulary* upon their ſhoulders, ſhould be infallibly preſerved from eternal damn-

[*e*] See MATTH. PARIS, *ad A.* 1246, *Hiſtor. Major*, p. 607. 630, &c.

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ation [*f*]. And here let it be obſerved to the aſtoniſhment of all, in whom the power of ſuperſtition has not extinguiſhed the plaineſt dictates of common ſenſe, that this fiction, ridiculous and impious as it was, found patrons and defenders even among the pontifs [*g*].

Conteſts between the Dominicans and Franciſcans.

XXX. It is however certain, that the Mendicant orders, though they were conſidered as the main pillars of the hierarchy, and the principal ſupports of the papal authority, involved the pontifs, after the death of DOMINIC and FRANCIS, in many perplexities and troubles, which were no ſooner diſpelled than they were unhappily renewed; and thus the church was often reduced to a ſtate of imminent danger. Theſe tumults and perplexities began with the conteſts between the Dominicans and Franciſcans about pre-eminence, in which theſe *humble* monks loaded each other with the bittereſt invectives and the ſevereſt accuſations both in their writings and their diſcourſe, and oppoſed each other's intereſts with all the fury of diſappointed ambition. Many ſchemes were formed, and various meaſures were employed, for terminating theſe ſcandalous diſſenſions; but the root of the evil ſtill remained, and the flame was rather covered than extinguiſhed [*h*]. Beſides this, the Franciſcans were early divided among themſelves, and ſplit into ſeveral factions, which gathered ſtrength and conſiſtence from day to day,

[*f*] See Jo. LAUNOII *Lib. de Viſo Stockii Oper.* tom. ii. part II. p. 379.—*Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. *Menſis Maii ad diem* xvi.—THEOPH. RAINAUDI *Scapulare Marianum*, tom. vii. opp. p. 614.

[*g*] The late pope BENEDICT XIV., notwithſtanding his pretended freedom from ſuperſtition and prieſtly fraud, has deigned to appear among the ſupporters of this groſs fiction, though he defends it with his uſual air of prudence and timidity, in his book *De Feſtis B. Mariæ Virg.* lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 472. tom. x. opp. edit. *Rom.*

[*h*] See the *Alcoran des Cordeliers*, tom. i. p. 256. 266. 278. &c. LUC. WADDINGII *Annales Minor.* tom. iii. p. 380.

and

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and not only disturbed the tranquillity of the church, but struck at the supreme jurisdiction and prerogatives of the Roman pontifs. And whoever considers with attention the series of events that happened in the Latin church from this remarkable period, will be fully convinced that the Mendicant orders, whether through imprudence or design we shall not determine, gave several mortal blows to the authority of the church of *Rome*, and excited in the minds of the people those ardent desires of a reformation in the church, which produced, in after-times, such substantial and such glorious effects.

Intestine divisions among the Franciscans occasioned by different explications of their rule.

XXXI. The occasion of these intestine divisions among the Franciscans, was a dispute about the precise meaning of their rule. Their founder and chief had made absolute poverty one of their indispensable obligations. The religious orders before his time were so constituted, that, though no single monk had any personal property, yet the whole community, considered as one collective body, had possessions and revenues, from whence each individual drew the means of his subsistence. But the austere chief of the Franciscans absolutely prohibited both separate and collective property to the monks of his order; and neither the individual nor the community were permitted to possess either fund, revenue, or any worldly goods [*i*]. This injunction appeared so severe to several of the Friars-minors, that they took the liberty to dispense with it as soon as their founder was dead; and in this they were seconded by the Roman pontif, GREGORY IX., who, in the year

[*i*] The words of the rule itself relating to this point are as follow: C. vi. *Fratres sibi nihil approprient, nec domum, nec locum, nec aliquam rem: sed sicut peregrini et advenæ in hoc sæculo, in paupertate et humilitate famulantes Domino, vadant pro elemosyna confidentur . . . (i. e.* let them be sturdy beggars) . . . *Hæc est illa celsitudo altissimæ paupertatis, quæ vos carissimos meos fratres hæredes et reges regni cælorum instituit.*

1231,

1231, publiſhed an interpretation of this rule, which mitigated conſiderably its exceſſive rigour [*k*]. But this mitigation was far from being agreeable to all the Franciſcans; it ſhocked the auſtere monks of that order, thoſe particularly who were called the *Spiritual* [*l*], whoſe melancholy temper rendered them fond of every thing harſh and gloomy, and whoſe fanatical ſpirit hurried them always into extremes. Hence aroſe a warm debate, which INNOCENT IV. decided, in the year 1245, in favour of thoſe who were for mitigating the ſeverity of the rule in queſtion. By this decree of the pontif it was enacted, that the Franciſcan friars ſhould be permitted to poſſeſs certain places, habitations, goods and chattels, books, *&c.* and to make uſe of them, but that the *property* of all theſe things ſhould reſide in St. PETER, or the Roman church; ſo that without the conſent of the Roman pontif they might neither be ſold, changed, nor tranſferred, under any pretext whatſoever. This edict was conſidered by the gloomy part of the order as a moſt pernicious depravation of their holy rule, and was, conſequently, oppoſed and rejected by them with indignation. Hence many of theſe *ſpiritual* mal-contents retired into the woods and deſarts, while others were apprehended, by CRESCENTIUS, the general of the ſociety, and ſent into exile [*m*].

XXXII. The face of affairs was, however, ſoon changed in their favour, when, in the year 1247, JOHN of *Parma* was choſen general of the

[*k*] This bull was publiſhed by EMMANUEL RODERIC, in his *Collectio privilegiorum regularium Mendicantium, et non Mendicantium*, tom. i. p. 8.

[*l*] LUC. WADDINGII *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 99. they were alſo called *Zelatores*, and *Cæſarians*, from their chief, CÆSARIUS.

[*m*] LUC. WADDINGII *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 128. & tom. iii. p. 171.

order.

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order. This famous eccleſiaſtic, who was zealouſly attached to the ſentiments of the *ſpiritual*, recalled them from their exile, and inculcated upon all his monks a ſtrict and unlimited obedience to the very letter of the rule that had been drawn up by St. FRANCIS [*n*]. By this reform, he brought back the order to its primitive ſtate; and the only reward he obtained for his zealous labours was to be accuſed as a rebellious heretic at the tribunal of the Roman pontif, ALEXANDER IV., in conſequence of which he was obliged to reſign his poſt. He had alſo the mortification to ſee the monks who adhered to his ſentiments caſt into priſon, which unhappy lot he himſelf eſcaped with great difficulty [*o*]. His ſucceſſor, the famous BONAVENTURA, who was one of the moſt eminent ſcholaſtic divines of this century, propoſed ſteering a middle courſe between the two contending factions, having nothing ſo much at heart as to prevent an open ſchiſm. Nevertheleſs, the meaſures he took to reconcile the jarring parties, and to maintain a ſpirit of union in the order, were not attended with the degree of ſucceſs which he expected from them; nor were they ſufficient to hinder the leſs auſtere part of the Franciſcans from ſoliciting and obtaining, in the year 1247, from ALEXANDER IV., a ſolemn renewal of the mild interpretation which INNOCENT IV. had given of the rule of their founder [*p*]. On the other hand, the faction that adhered to the ſentiments of JOHN of *Parma* maintained their cauſe with ſuch ſucceſs, that, in an aſſembly of the order, held in the year 1260, the explication of INNOCENT was abrogated and annulled, eſpecially in thoſe points wherein it

[*n*] LUC. WADDINGII *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 171.

[*o*] Id. ibid. tom. iv. p. 4.

[*p*] This edict of ALEXANDER IV. is publiſhed by WADDINGIUS, *Annal. Min.* tom. iv. p. 446. among the *Records*.

differed

differed from that which had been formerly given by GREGORY IX. [q].

XXXIII. This diſpute concerning the true ſenſe of the rule of St. FRANCIS was followed by another of equal moment, which produced new and unhappy diviſions among the monks of that order. About the commencement of this century, there were handed about in *Italy* ſeveral pretended prophecies of the famous JOACHIM, abbot of *Sora* in *Calabria* [r], whom the multitude revered as a perſon divinely inſpired, and equal to the moſt illuſtrious prophets of ancient times. The greateſt part of theſe predictions were contained in a certain book, entitled, *The Everlaſting Goſpel*, and which was alſo commonly called, *The Book of Joachim* [s]. This JOACHIM, whether a real

Another conteſt ariſes among the Franciſcans, concerning the *Everlaſting Goſpel* of the abbot Joachim.

[q] The interpretation of GREGORY mitigated the rule of St. FRANCIS; but that of INNOCENT went much farther, and ſeemed to deſtroy its fundamental principles. See WADDINGI *Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 128. The lamentable diviſions that reigned among the monks of this famous order, are deſcribed, in an accurate and lively manner, by BONAVENTURA himſelf, in a letter, which is extant in the *Annales* now cited, tom. iv. p. 58.

☞ [r] The reſemblance that there is between the words *Sora* and *Flora*, has probably led Dr. MOSHEIM here into a ſlight miſtake. *Sora* is not in *Calabria*, but in the province of *Capua*. It muſt therefore have been *Flora*, that our author intended to write, as SPANHEIM, FLEURY, and the other eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians have done.

[s] The MERLIN of the Engliſh, the MALACHY of the Iriſh, and NOSTRADAMUS of the French, thoſe pretended ſoothſayers, who, under the illuſory, or feigned perſuaſion of a divine impulſe, ſung, in uncouth verſe, the future revolutions of church and ſtate, are juſt what we may ſuppoſe the JOACHIM of the Italians to have been. Many predictions of this latter were formerly handed about, and are ſtill to be ſeen; nay, they have paſſed through various editions, and have been illuſtrated by the lucubrations of ſeveral commentators. It is not to be doubted, that JOACHIM was the author of various predictions; and that he, in a particular manner, foretold the reformation of the church, of which he might eaſily ſee the abſolute neceſſity. It is however certain, that the greateſt part of the predictions and

a real or fictitious perſon we ſhall not pretend to determine, among many other future events, foretold the deſtruction of the church of *Rome*, whoſe corruptions he cenſured with the greateſt ſeverity, and the promulgation of a new and *more perfect goſpel* in *the age of the Holy Ghoſt*, by a ſet of poor and auſtere miniſters, whom God was to raiſe up and employ for that purpoſe. For he divided the world into *three ages*, relative to the three diſpenſations of religion that were to ſucceed each other in it. The two *imperfect ages*, to wit, the age of the Old Teſtament, which was that of the *Father*, and the age of the New, which was under the adminiſtration of the *Son*, were, according to the predictions of this fanatic, now paſt, and the third age, even that of the *Holy Ghoſt*, was at hand. The *Spiritual*, i. e. the auſtere Franciſcans, who were, for the moſt part, well-meaning, but wrong-headed enthuſiaſts, not only ſwallowed down, with the moſt voracious and implicit credulity, the prophecies and doctrines that were attributed to JOACHIM, but applied theſe predictions to themſelves, and to the rule of diſcipline eſtabliſhed by their holy founder St. FRANCIS [*t*]; for they maintained, that he-

writings, which were formerly attributed to him, were compoſed by others; and this we may affirm even of the *Everlaſting Goſpel*, the work, undoubtedly, of ſome obſcure, ſilly, and viſionary author, who thought proper to adorn his reveries with the celebrated name of JOACHIM, in order to gain them credit, and to render them more agreeable to the multitude. The title of this ſenſeleſs production is taken from *Revelations* xiv. 6. and it contained three books; the firſt was entitled, *Liber Concordiæ veritatis*, i. e. *The Book of the Harmony of Truth*; the ſecond, *Apocalypſis Nova*, or *New Revelations*; and the third, *Pſalterium decem Chordarum*, i. e. *The Ten-ſtringed Harp*. This account was taken from a manuſcript of that work, in the library of the Sorbonne, by JAC. ECHARD, who has publiſhed it in his *Scriptores Dominic.* tom. i. p. 202.

[*t*] This is acknowledged even by WADDING, notwithſtanding his partiality in favour of the *ſpiritual* or auſtere Franciſcans. See his *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 3—6.

delivered

delivered to mankind the *true goſpel*, and that he was the angel whom St. JOHN ſaw flying in the midſt of heaven [*u*].

Gerhard's book condemned.

XXXIV. At the very time that the inteſtine diviſions among the Franciſcans were at the greateſt height, one of the *Spiritual* friars, whoſe name was GERHARD, undertook the explication of the *Everlaſting Goſpel* attributed to JOACHIM, in a book which appeared in the year 1250, under the title of *Introduction to the Everlaſting Goſpel* [*w*]. In

[*u*] *Revel.* xiv. 6. *And I ſaw another angel fly in the midſt of heaven, having the everlaſting goſpel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth*, &c.—See on this ſubject BALUZII *Miſcellan.* tom. i. p. 221. 228. 235. 246.—ECHARDI *Scriptor. Dominic.* tom. i. p. 202.—*Codex Inquiſit. Tholoſanæ a* LIMBORCHIO edit. p. 301, 302. 305, &c.

[*w*] As the accounts given of this book, by ancient and modern writers, are not ſufficiently accurate, it may not be improper to offer here ſome obſervations that may correct their miſtakes. 1. They almoſt all confound the *Everlaſting Goſpel*, or *The Goſpel of the Holy Ghoſt*, (for ſo was it alſo called, as we are told by GUILL. DE ST. AMOUR, in his book *De Periculis noviſſ. Tempor.* p. 38.) with the *Introduction to the Everlaſting Goſpel*. But theſe two productions muſt be carefully diſtinguiſhed from each other. The *Everlaſting Goſpel* was attributed to the abbot JOACHIM, and it conſiſted in three books, as has been already obſerved. But the *Introduction* to this Goſpel was the work of a certain Franciſcan monk, who explained the obſcure predictions of the pretended Goſpel, and applied them to his order. The *Everlaſting Goſpel* was neither complained of by the univerſity of *Paris*, nor condemned by the Roman pontif, ALEXANDER IV.; but the *Introduction* was complained of, condemned, and burnt, as appears evidently from the letters of the abovementioned pontif, which are to be ſeen in BOULAY'S *Hiſtor. Academ. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 292. The *former* conſiſted, as productions of that nature generally do, in ambiguous predictions and intricate riddles, and was conſequently deſpiſed or neglected; but the *latter* was dangerous in many reſpects. 2. It is farther to be obſerved, that the ancient writers are not agreed concerning the author of this *Introduction*. They are unanimous in attributing it to one of the Mendicant friars; but the votaries of St. FRANCIS maintain, that the author was a Dominican; while the Dominican party affirm as obſtinately, that he was a Franciſcan. It is however certain, that the greateſt part of the learned are of opinion, that the author of the infa-

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In this book, the fanatical monk, among other enormities, as inſipid as impious, inculcated the following

mous work in queſtion was JOHN of *Parma*, general of the Franciſcans, who is known to have been moſt warmly attached to the *ſpiritual* faction of that order, and to have maintained the ſentiments of the abbot JOACHIM with an exceſſive zeal. See LUC. WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 9. who endeavours to defend him againſt this accuſation, though without ſucceſs. (See alſo the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. iii. *Martii*, p. 157. for JOHN of *Parma*, though he preferred the *Goſpel* of St. FRANCIS to that of CHRIST, has, nevertheleſs, obtained a place among the ſaints.) The learned ECHARD is of a different opinion, and has proved, in his *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 202, 203. from the curious manuſcripts yet preſerved in the Sorbonne, relating to the *Everlaſting Goſpel*, that GERHARD, a Franciſcan friar, was the author of the infamous *Introduction* to that book. This GERHARD, indeed, was the intimate friend and companion to JOHN of *Parma*, and not only maintained, with the greateſt obſtinacy, the cauſe of the *ſpiritual*, but alſo embraced all the ſentiments that were attributed to the abbot JOACHIM, with ſuch an ardent zeal, that he choſe to remain eighteen years in priſon rather than to abandon them. See WADDINGII *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 4. 7. The Franciſcans, who were called *obſervantes*, i. e. *vigilant*, from their profeſſing a more rigid obſervance of the rule of their founder than was practiſed by the reſt of their order, place GERHARD among the ſaints of the firſt rank, and impudently affirm, that he was not only endowed with the gift of prophecy, but alſo with the power of working miracles. See WADDINGII *Annales Min.* tom. iii. p. 213, 214. It is to be obſerved 3*dly*, That whoever may have been the writer of this deteſtable book, the whole Mendicant order, in the judgment of the greateſt part of the hiſtorians of this age, ſhared the guilt of its compoſition and publication, more eſpecially the Dominicans and Franciſcans, who are ſuppoſed to have fallen upon this impious method of deluding the multitude into a high notion of their ſanctity, in order thus to eſtabliſh their dominion, and to extend their authority beyond all bounds. This opinion however is ill-founded, notwithſtanding the numbers by which it has been adopted. The Franciſcans alone are chargeable with the guilt of this horrid production, as appears moſt evidently from the fragments of the book itſelf, which yet remain; but we are obliged in juſtice to obſerve farther, that this guilt does not even lie upon all the Franciſcans, but only on that faction of the order, which is known under the title of the *Spiritual*. Perhaps we might go ſtill farther, and allege, that the charge ought not to be extended even to all the members of this faction, but to ſuch alone

following deteſtable doctrine; "That St. FRAN-
"CIS, who was the angel mentioned in the *Re-*
"*velations* xiv. 6. had promulgated to the world
"the true and everlaſting goſpel of God; that
"the goſpel of CHRIST was to be abrogated in
"the year 1260, and to give place to this new
"and everlaſting goſpel, which was to be ſubſti-
"tuted in its room; and that the miniſters of
"this great reformation were to be humble and
"bare-footed friars, deſtitute of all worldly
"emoluments [x]." When this ſtrange book was publiſhed at *Paris* in the year 1254, it excited in the doctors of the church, and, indeed, in all good men, the moſt lively feelings of horror and indignation againſt the Mendicant friars, who had already incurred the diſpleaſure of the

alone as placed an idle and enthuſiaſtic confidence in the abbot JOACHIM, and gave credit to all his pretended prophecies. Theſe obſervations are neceſſary to the true underſtanding of what has been ſaid concerning the *Everlaſting Goſpel* by the following learned men; JO. ANDR. SCHMIDIUS, *Singular Diſſertat. Helmſt.* 1700, in 4to.—USSERIUS, *De Succeſſione Eccleſiar. Occident.* c. ix. § 20. p. 337.—BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 292.—NATAL. ALEXANDER, *Hiſtor. Eccleſ.* Sæc. xiii. Artic. iv. p. 78.—LUC. WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 9.—Upon the whole it may be affirmed, that the book under conſideration is not, as the greateſt part of the learned have imagined, a monument of the arrogance of the Mendicant orders, but rather a proof of the impious fanaticiſm and extravagance of an handful of Franciſcans.

[x] See GUIL. DE ST. AMORE, *De Periculis noviſſ. Tempor.* p. 38, 39. who obſerves, that the book under conſideration was not indeed publiſhed before the year 1254, but that the opinions contained in it had an earlier origin, and were propagated even in the year 1200. Several of the ancient writers have given large extracts from this infamous book, ſee HERM. CORNERI *Chronicon*, in ECCARDI *Corpore Hiſtor. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 850.—*Chronocon Egmondanum*, in ANT. MATTHÆI *Analectis veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 517.—RICOBALDUS apud ECCARDUM, *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 1215.—But there is a great difference between theſe extracts, which ſeems to have ariſen from this, that ſome drew their citations from the *Everlaſting Goſpel of* JOACHIM, while others drew theirs from the *Introduction of* GERHARD, not ſufficiently diſtinguiſhing the one work from the other.

public on other accounts. This univerſal ferment engaged the Roman pontif, ALEXANDER IV., though much againſt his will, to order the ſuppreſſion of this abſurd book in the year 1255; he, however, took care to have this order executed with the greateſt poſſible mildneſs, leſt it ſhould hurt the reputation of the Mendicants, and open the eyes of the ſuperſtitious multitude. But the univerſity of *Paris* was not ſatisfied with theſe gentle and timorous proceedings; and conſequently its doctors repeated without interruption their accuſations and complaints, until the extravagant production, that had given ſuch juſt and general offence, was publicly committed to the flames [*y*].

The famous conſtitution of Nicolas III., relating to the rule of St. Francis.

XXXV. The inteſtine flame of diſcord, that had raged among the Franciſcans, and was ſmothered, though not extinguiſhed, by the prudent management of BONAVENTURA, broke out anew with redoubled fury after the death of that pacific doctor. The Franciſcan monks, who were fond of opulence and eaſe, renewed their complaints againſt the rule of their founder, as unreaſonable and unjuſt, demanding what it was abſolutely beyond the power of man to perform. Their complaints, however, were without effect; and their ſchemes were diſconcerted by the Roman pontif, NICOLAS III., who leaned to the ſide of the auſtere Franciſcans; and, in the year 1279, publiſhed that famous *conſtitution*, which confirmed the rule of St. FRANCIS, and contained an accurate and elaborate explication of the maxims it recommended, and the duties it preſcribed [*z*].

[*y*] See BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 299.—JORDANI *Chronicon*, in MURATORII *Antiqq. Ital.* tom. iv. p. 998.

[*z*] Some affirm, that this famous *Conſtitution* was iſſued out by NICOLAS IV.; but their opinion is refuted by WADDING, in his *Annal. Min.* tom. v. p. 73.

By this edict, the pontif renewed that part of the rule, that prohibited all kinds of property among the Franciscans, every thing that bore the least resemblance of a legal possession, or a fixed domain; but he granted to them, at the same time, the *use* of things necessary, such as houses, books, and other conveniences of that nature, the property of which, in conformity with the appointment of INNOCENT IV., was to reside in the church of *Rome*. Nor did the provident pontif stop here; but prohibited, under the severest penalties, all private explications of this new law, lest they should excite disputes and furnish new matter of contention; and reserved the power of interpreting it to himself alone, and to his successors in the pontificate (*a*].

Excites new troubles and exasperates the *Spiritual*.

XXXVI. However disposed NICOLAS was to satisfy the *Spiritual*, and austere part of the Franciscan order, which was now become numerous both in *Italy* and *France*, and particularly in the province of *Narbonne*, the *constitution* above mentioned was far from producing that effect. The monks of that gloomy faction that resided in *Italy*, received the papal edict with a sullen and discontented silence. Their brethren in *France*, and more especially in the southern parts of that kingdom, where the inhabitants are of a warm and sanguine complexion, testified, in an open and tumultuous manner, their disapprobation of this new *constitution*, and having at their head a famous Franciscan, whose name was JEAN PIERRE D'OLIVE, they excited new dissentions and troubles in the order [*b*]. This PIERRE D'OLIVE was a native

[*a*] This constitution is yet extant in the *Jus Canon. Lib.* vi. *Decretal. Tit.* xii. c. iii. p. 1028, edit. *Bohmerianæ*, and is vulgarly called the *Constitution* EXIIT, from its beginning thus: *Exiit*, &c.

[*b*] In some ancient records, this ringleader is called *Petrus Betterrensis*, i. e. *Peter of Beziers*, because he resided for a long

a native of *Serignan* in *Languedoc*, who had acquired a ſhining reputation by his writings, and whoſe eminent ſanctity and learning drew after him a great number of followers; nor is it to be denied, that there were many important truths and wiſe maxims in the inſtructions he delivered. One of the great objects, which he never loſt ſight of in his writings, was the corruption of the church of *Rome*, which he cenſured with a peculiar freedom and ſeverity, in a work entitled, *Poſtilla*, or *A Commentary on the Revelations*, affirming boldly, that that church was repreſented by the *whore of Babylon, the mother of harlots*, whom St. JOHN beheld *ſitting upon a ſcarlet-coloured beaſt, full of names of blaſphemy, having ſeven heads, and ten horns* [c]. It is, however, to be obſerved, that this ſevere cenſor of a corrupt church was, himſelf, a moſt ſuperſtitious fanatic in ſeveral reſpects, having imbibed the greateſt part of thoſe monſtrous opinions, which the *Spiritual* pretended to have received from the abbot JOACHIM; to which he added an impious and extravagant veneration for St. FRANCIS, whom he conſidered as wholly and *entirely transformed into the perſon of Chriſt* [d]. In the debate concerning the ſenſe of the rule of this famous chief, he ſeemed to adhere to neither of the contending parties; for he allowed his followers the *bare uſe of the neceſſaries of life*; and being called upon, at different times, by the authority of his ſuperiors, to declare his ſentiments upon this head, he profeſſed

time in the convent of *Beziers*, where he performed the functions of a public teacher. By others, he is named PETRUS *de Serignano*, from the place of his nativity. This remark is ſo much the more neceſſary, as certain authors have taken theſe three denominations for three diſtinct perſons.

[c] *Revelations* xvii. 3, 4, 5.

[d] *Totum* CHRISTO *configuratum*. See the *Litera Magiſtrorum de Poſtilla Fratris P. Joh. Olivi*, in BALUZII *Miſcellan.* tom. i. p. 213.—WADDINGI *Annales Minor.* tom. v. p. 51.

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his assent to the interpretation that had been given of the rule in question by NICOLAS III. He leaned, nevertheless, to the side of those austere and *Spiritual* Franciscans, who not only opposed the introduction of property among the individuals of the order, but also maintained that the whole community, considered collectively, was likewise to be excluded from possessions of every kind. His zeal for these gloomy Franciscans was great, and he defended their cause with warmth [*e*]; hence he is looked upon as the chief of that faction, which disputed so often, and so vehemently, with the Roman pontifs, in favour of the *renunciation of property*, in consequence of the institution of St. FRANCIS [*f*].

XXXVII. The credit and authority of PIERRE D'OLIVE, whom the multitude considered not only as a man of unblemished sanctity, but also as a prophet sent from above, added new force and vigour to the *Spiritual*, and encouraged them to renew the combat with redoubled fury. But the prudence of the heads of the order prevented, for some time, the pernicious effects of these violent efforts, and so over-ruled the impetuous

Continuation of these debates.

[*e*] The real sentiments of PIERRE D'OLIVE will be best discovered in the last discourse he pronounced, which is yet extant in BOULAY's *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 535. and in WADDING's *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 378.

[*f*] For an account of this famous friar, see not only the common monastic historians, such as RAYNALDUS, ALEXANDER, and OUDINUS, but also the following: BALUZII *Miscell.* tom. i. p. 213. and in *Vitis Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 752.—CAR. PLESSIS D'ARGENTRE, *Collectio judiciorum de novis Ecclesiæ Erroribus*, tom. i. p. 226.—WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 52. 108. 121. 140. 236. and more especially p. 378. where he makes an unsuccessful attempt to justify this enthusiast.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 535.—SCHELHORNII *Amœnitates Literariæ*, tom. ix. p. 678.—*Histoire Generale de Languedoc, par les Moines Benedictins*, tom. iv. p. 91. 179. 182. The bones of PIERRE D'OLIVE were raised by the order of the Roman pontif JOHN XXII., and burnt publicly, with his writings, in the year 1325. See RAYNALD. *ad An.* 1325. § 20.

motions

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motions of this enthuſiaſtic faction, that a ſort of equality was preſerved between the contending parties. But the promotion of MATTHEW of *Aqua Sparta*, who was elected general of the order in the year 1287, put an end to theſe prudential meaſures, and changed entirely the face of affairs. This new chief ſuffered the ancient diſcipline of the Franciſcans to dwindle away to nothing, indulged his monks in abandoning even the very appearance of poverty, and thus drew upon him, not only the indignation and rage of the auſterer part of the *Spiritual* Franciſcans, but alſo the diſapprobation of the more moderate members of that party. Hence aroſe various tumults and ſeditions, firſt in the marquiſate of *Ancona*, and afterwards in *France*, which the new general endeavoured to ſuppreſs by impriſonment, exile, and corporal puniſhments; but, finding all theſe means ineffectual, reſigned his place in the year 1289 [g]. His ſucceſſor RAYMOND GOFFREDI employed his utmoſt efforts to appeaſe theſe troubles. For this purpoſe he recalled the baniſhed friars, ſet at liberty thoſe that had been caſt into priſon, and put out of the way ſeveral of the auſterer Franciſcans, who had been the principal fomenters of theſe unhappy diviſions, by ſending them into *Armenia* in the character of miſſionaries. But the diſorder was too far gone to admit of a remedy. The more moderate Franciſcans, who had a reliſh for the ſweets of property and opulence, accuſed the new general of a partial attachment to the *Spiritual*, whom he treated with peculiar affection and reſpect, and therefore employed their whole credit to get him removed from his office, which, with much difficulty, they, at length, effected under the pontificate of BONIFACE VIII. On the other hand, the more

[g] WADDINGI *Annales Min.* tom. v. p. 210, 211. 235.

rigid

rigid part of the *Spiritual* faction renounced all fellowſhip, even with ſuch of their own party as diſcovered a pacific and reconciling ſpirit; and, forming themſelves into a ſeparate body, proteſted publicly againſt the interpretation which NICOLAS III. had given of the rule of St. FRANCIS. Thus, from the year 1290, the affairs of the Franciſcans carried a diſmal aſpect, and portended nothing elſe than ſeditions and ſchiſms in an order, that had been ſo famous for its pretended diſintereſtedneſs and humility [*b*].

XXXVIII. In the year 1294, a certain number of Italian Franciſcans, of the *Spiritual* party, addreſſed themſelves to CELESTIN V., for a permiſſion to form a ſeparate order, in which they might not only profeſs, but alſo obſerve, in the ſtricteſt manner, that auſtere rule of abſolute poverty, which St. FRANCIS had preſcribed to his followers. The good pontif, who, before his elevation to the head of the church, had led a ſolitary and auſtere life [*i*], and was fond of every thing that looked like mortification and ſelf-denial, granted, with the utmoſt facility, the requeſt of theſe friars, and placed at the head of the new order, a monk, whoſe name was LIBERATUS, and who was one of the greateſt *ſelf-tormen-*

[*b*] Id. ibid. tom. v. p. 108. 121. 140. and more eſpecially p. 235, 236.

☞ [*i*] This pope, whoſe name was PETER MEURON, had retired very young to a ſolitary mountain, in order to devote himſelf entirely to prayer and mortification. The fame of his piety brought many to ſee him from a principle of curioſity, ſeveral of whom renounced the world, and became the companions of his ſolitude. With theſe he formed a kind of community, in the year 1254, which was approved by URBAN IV. in 1264, and erected into a diſtinct order, called *The Hermits of St. Damien*. Upon MEURON's elevation to the pontificate, and his aſſuming the name of CELESTIN V., his order, which muſt not be confounded with the new *Franciſcan Celeſtin Hermits*, took the title of *Celeſtins*.

tors

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tors of all the monaſtic tribe [*k*]. Soon after this, CELESTIN, finding himſelf unfit for the duties of his high and important office, reſigned the pontificate, in which he was ſucceeded by BONIFACE VIII., who annulled every act that had been paſſed during the ſhort reign of his predeceſſor, and ſuppreſſed, among other inſtitutions, the new order, which had aſſumed the title of the *Celeſtin Hermits of St. Francis* [*l*]. This diſgrace was, as it were, the ſignal which drew upon them the moſt furious attacks of their enemies. The worldly-minded Franciſcans perſecuted them with the moſt unrelenting bitterneſs, accuſed them of various crimes, and even caſt upon them the odious reproach of Manicheiſm. Hence many of theſe unhappy fanatics retired into *Achaia*, from whence they paſſed into a ſmall iſland, where they imagined themſelves ſecure from the rage of their adverſaries, and at liberty to *indulge* themſelves in all the auſterities of that miſerable life, which they looked upon as the perfection of holineſs here below. But no retreat was ſufficient to ſcreen them from the vigilance and fury of their cruel perſecutors, who left no means unemployed to perpetuate their miſeries. In the mean time, that branch of the *Spiritual* Franciſcans that remained in *Italy*, continued to obſerve the rigorous laws of their primitive inſtitution in ſpite of BONIFACE VIII., who uſed his utmoſt efforts to conquer their obſtinacy. They erected ſocieties of their order firſt in the kingdom of *Naples*, afterwards in the *Milaneſe*, and in the marquiſate of *Ancona*; and, at length, ſpreading themſelves through the greateſt part of *Europe*, they continued in the moſt violent ſtate of war with the church of *Rome*, until the face of things

[*k*] WADDINGI *Annales*, tom. v. p. 324. 338.

[*l*] Id. ibid. tom. vi. p. 1. *Bullarium Magnum Contin.* III., IV., p. 108, 109.

was

was changed by the Reformation. In theſe conflicts they underwent trials and ſufferings of every kind, and multitudes of them periſhed in the flames, as miſerable victims to the infernal fury of the *Inquiſition* [*m*]. CENT. XIII. PART II.

XXXIX.

[*m*] The writers that ſerve generally as guides in this part of the hiſtory of the church, and whom I have been obliged to conſult upon the diviſions of the Franciſcans, whoſe hiſtory, as will ſoon appear, is peculiarly intereſting and important, are far from meriting the encomiums that are due to perſpicuity and exactneſs. This part of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of, what is called, the *Middle Age*, has not hitherto been accurately illuſtrated by any writer, though it be, every way, worthy of the labours of the learned, and of the attention of Chriſtians. Its principal merit conſiſts herein, that it exhibits ſtriking examples of piety and learning ſtruggling againſt the power of ſuperſtition and ignorance, and againſt that ſpiritual tyranny of which they were the principal ſupports. Nay, theſe very rebellious Franciſcans, though fanatical and ſuperſtitious in ſeveral reſpects, deſerve, nevertheleſs, an eminent rank among thoſe who prepared the way for the Reformation in *Europe*, and who excited in the minds of the people, a juſt averſion to the church of *Rome*. RAYNALDUS, BZOVIUS, SPONDANUS, in their Annals, EYMERICUS, in his *Directorium Inquiſitorum*, and NATALIS ALEXANDER, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, relate the revolutions that happened in the Franciſcan order, and in the church in general during this period: but their accounts are neither ſo accurate, nor ſo ample, as the importance of the events deſerved. And as it is from theſe authors that the proteſtant hiſtorians have drawn their materials, we need not be ſurpriſed at the defects with which theſe latter abound. WADDING, who merits the higheſt encomiums as a laborious and learned writer, is yet an uncertain guide, when he treats of the matters now under conſideration. His attachment to one party, and his fear of the others, lay him under reſtraints, that prevent his declaring the truth with a noble freedom. He ſhades his picture with dexterity. He conceals, diſſembles, excuſes, acknowledges, and denies, with ſuch a timorous prudence and caution, that the truth could not but ſuffer conſiderably under his pen. He appears to have been attached to the rigid Franciſcans, and yet had not the courage to declare openly, that they had been injured by the pontifs. He ſaw on the other hand, the tumults and perplexities in which theſe rigid Franciſcans had involved the church of *Rome*, and the ſtrokes they had levelled, with no ſmall ſucceſs, at the majeſty of the pontifs: but he has taken all imaginable pains to throw ſuch a ſhade upon this part of their conduct, as conceals

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The Fratricelli and Beguards.

XXXIX. Towards the concluſion of this century, aroſe in *Italy* the enthuſiaſtic ſect of the *Fratricelli* and *Bizochi*, which, in *Germany* and *France*, received the denomination of *Beguards*. They were condemned by BONIFACE VIII. [*n*], and by ſeveral of his ſucceſſors; and the *inquiſitors* were charged by theſe deſpotic pontifs to perſecute them until they were entirely extirpated, which commiſſion they executed with their uſual barbarity. The *Fratricelli*, or *Little Brethren*, were Franciſcan monks, who ſeparated themſelves from the grand community of St. FRANCIS, with a deſign to obſerve the laws of their parent and founder in a more ſtrict and rigorous manner than they were obſerved by the other Franciſcans; and who, accordingly, renounced every kind of poſſeſſion and property both common and perſonal, and begged from door to door their

conceals its violence from the view of his readers. Such then being the characters of the writers, who have handed down to us the hiſtory of the church in this important period, I could follow none of them as a ſure or conſtant guide in all the events they relate, the judgments they form, or the characters they deſcribe. I have not, however, been deſtitute of a clue to conduct me through the various windings of this intricate labyrinth. The teſtimonies of ancient authors, with ſeveral manuſcripts that have never yet been publiſhed, ſuch as the *Diplomas* of the Pontifs and Emperors, the *Acts of the Inquiſition*, and other records of that kind, are the authentic ſources from whence I have drawn my accounts of many things that have been very imperfectly repreſented by other hiſtorians.

[*n*] See TRITHEMIUS *Annal. Hirſaug.* tom. ii. p. 74. though this author is defective in ſeveral reſpects, and more eſpecially in his accounts of the origin and ſentiments of the *Fratricelli*. It is alſo to be obſerved, that he confounds, through the whole of his hiſtory, the ſects and orders of this century one with another, in the moſt ignorant and unſkilful manner. See rather DU BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 541. where the edict publiſhed in the year 1297, by BONIFACE VIII., againſt the *Bizochi*, or *Beguards*, is inſerted; as alſo JORDANI *Chronicon*, in MURATORII *Antiqq. Italiæ*, tom. iv. p. 1020.

daily

daily ſubſiſtence [o]. They alleged that neither CHRIST nor his apoſtles had any poſſeſſions, either *perſonal*, or *in common*; and that *they* were the models, whom St. FRANCIS commanded his followers to imitate. After the example alſo of their auſtere founder, they went about clothed with ſordid garments, or rather with loathſome rags, declaimed againſt the corruption of the church of *Rome*, and the vices of the pontifs and biſhops, foretold the reformation of the church and the reſtoration of the true goſpel of CHRIST by the *genuine* followers of St. FRANCIS, and declared their aſſent to almoſt all the doctrines, which were publiſhed under the name of the abbot JOACHIM. They eſteemed and reſpected CELESTIN V., becauſe, as has been already obſerved, he was, in ſome meaſure, the founder of their ſociety, by permitting them to erect themſelves into a ſeparate order. But they refuſed to acknowledge, as true and lawful heads of the church, his ſucceſſor BONIFACE and the other

[o] The *Fratricelli* reſemble the *Spiritual* in many of their maxims and obſervances: they, however, are a diſtinct body, and differ from them in various reſpects. The *Spiritual*, for inſtance, continued to hold communion with the reſt of the Franciſcans, from whom they differed in points of conſiderable moment, nor did they ever pretend to erect themſelves into a particular and diſtinct order; the *Fratricelli*, on the contrary, renounced all communion with the Franciſcans, and, withdrawing their obedience from the ſuperiors of that ſociety, choſe for themſelves a new chief, under whom they formed a new and ſeparate order. The *Spiritual* did not abſolutely oppoſe their order's poſſeſſing certain goods jointly, and in common, provided they renounced all property in theſe goods, and confined their pretenſions to the mere *uſe* of them; whereas the *Fratricelli* rejected every kind of poſſeſſion, whether perſonal or in common, and embraced that abſolute poverty and want, which St. FRANCIS had preſcribed in his *Rule* and in his laſt *Teſtament*. We omit the mention of other leſs important differences that might be alleged here.

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pontifs after him, who oppoſed the *Fratricelli*, and perſecuted their order [*p*].

XL.

[*p*] The accounts of the *Fratricelli*, that are given by ancient and modern writers, even by thoſe that pretend to the greateſt exactneſs, are extremely confuſed and uncertain. TRITHEMIUS, in his *Annal. Hirſaug.* tom. ii. p. 74. affirms, that they derived their origin from TANCHELINUS, and thus ignorantly confounds them with the *Catharifts* and other ſects that aroſe in thoſe times. The Franciſcans leave no means unemployed to clear themſelves from all relation to this ſociety, and to demonſtrate, that ſuch a peſtilential and impious ſect, as that of the *Fratricelli*, did not derive their origin from the order of St. FRANCIS. In conſequence of this, they deny that the *Fratricelli* profeſſed the Franciſcan rule; and maintain, on the contrary, that the ſociety, which was diſtinguiſhed by this title, was a heap of rabble, compoſed of perſons of all kinds and all religions, whom HERMAN PONGILUP, towards the concluſion of this century, gathered together at *Ferrara* in *Italy*, and erected into a diſtinct order. See LUC. WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 279. This author employs all his eloquence to defend his order from the infamous reproach of having given riſe to that of the *Fratricelli*: But his efforts are vain; for he acknowledges, nay, even proves by unqueſtionable authorities, that this hated ſect profeſſed and obſerved, in the moſt rigorous manner, the rule of St. FRANCIS: and, nevertheleſs, he denies that they were Franciſcans; by which he means, and indeed can only mean, that they were not ſuch Franciſcans as thoſe who lived in ſubjection to the general of the order, and adopted the interpretation which the pontifs had given of the rule of their founder. All WADDING's boaſted demonſtration, therefore, comes to no more than this, that the *Fratricelli* were Franciſcans who ſeparated themſelves from the grand order of St. FRANCIS, and rejected the authority of the general of that order, and the laws and interpretations, together with the juriſdiction of the Roman pontifs; and this no mortal ever took it into his head to deny. HERMANNUS, or, as he is called by many, ARMANNUS PONGILUP, whom WADDING and others conſider as the parent of the *Fratricelli*, lived in this century, at *Ferrara*, in the higheſt reputation on account of his extraordinary piety; and when he died, in the year 1269, was interred with the greateſt magnificence and pomp in the principal church of that city. His memory was, for a long time, honoured with a degree of veneration equal to that which is paid to the moſt illuſtrious ſaints; and it was ſuppoſed that the Supreme Being bore teſtimony to his eminent ſanctity by various miracles. But as PONGILUP

XL. As the Franciſcan order acknowledged, as its companions and aſſociates, a ſet of men who

Tertiaries, Bocaſoti, and Beguins.

PONGILUP had been ſuſpected of hereſy by the *Inquiſitors* *, on account of the peculiar auſterity of his life, which reſembled that of the *Catharists*, they made, even after his death, ſuch an exact and ſcrupulous inquiry into his maxims and morals, that, many years after he was laid low in the grave, his impiety was detected and publiſhed to the world. Hence it was, that, in the year 1300, his tomb was deſtroyed, his bones dug up, and burned by the order of BONIFACE VIII. and the multitude effectually cured of the enthuſiaſtic veneration they had for his memory. The *judicial acts* of this remarkable event are recorded by MURATORI, in his *Antiquit. Italic. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 93—147. and it appears evidently from them, that thoſe learned men, who conſider PONGILUP as the founder of the order of the *Fratricelli*, are entirely miſtaken. So far was he from being the founder of this ſect, that he was dead before it was in being. The truth of the matter is, that this famous enthuſiaſt was a *Catharist*, infected with *Paulician* or *Manichean* principles, and that he was a member of the ſect entitled *Bagnoliſts*, from a town of that name in *Provence*, where they reſided. Some modern writers, indeed, have ſeen ſo far into the truth, as to perceive that the *Fratricelli* were a ſeparate branch of the rigid and auſtere Franciſcans; but they err in this, that they conſider them as the ſame ſect with the *Beguards* or *Beguins*, under a different denomination. Such is the opinion adopted by LIMBORCH, in his *Hiſt. Inquiſit.* lib. i. cap. xix. p. 69. who appears to have been very little acquainted with the matters now under conſideration; by BALUZIUS, in his *Miſcellan.* tom. i. p. 195. & *Vit. Pontif. Avenionenſ.* tom. i. p. 509. by BEAUSOBRE, in his *Diſſertation concerning the Adamites*, ſubjoined to the *Hiſtory of the Wars of the Huſſites*, p. 380. and by WADDING, in his *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 376. But notwithſtanding the authorities of theſe learned men, it is certain, as we ſhall ſhew in its place, that there was a real difference between the *Fratricelli* and the *Beguards*, not indeed with reſpect to their opinions, but in their rule of diſcipline and their manner of life.

The principal cauſe of the errors that have obſcured the *Hiſtory of the Fratricelli*, is the ambiguity that there is in the denomination of their order. *Fratricellus*, or *Fraterculus*, or *Little Brother*, was an Italian nick-name, or term of deriſion, that was applied in this century to all thoſe who, without belonging to any of the religious orders, affected a monkiſh air in

* Theſe formidable cenſors were entitled, *Inquiſitors of Heretical Pravity.*

who obſerved the *third rule* that was preſcribed by St. FRANCIS, and were from thence commonly called

their cloathing, their carriage, and their manner of living, and aſſumed a ſanctimonious aſpect of piety and devotion. See VILLANI *Iſtorie Florentine*, lib. viii. c. 84. p. 423.—IMOLA *in Dantem*, p. 1121. in MURATORI *Antiq. Ital.* tom. i. And as there were many vagabonds of this kind, that wandered about from place to place during this century, it happened, that this general term of *Fratricelli* was applied to them all, though they differed much from one another in their opinions and in their methods of living. Thus the *Cathariſts*, the *Waldenſes*, the *Apoſtles*, and many other ſects, who had invented new opinions in religion, were marked with this denomination by the multitude; while the writers of foreign nations, unacquainted with this ludicrous application of the word, were puzzled in their inquiries after the ſect of the *Fratricelli*, who had given ſo much trouble to the Roman pontifs, nay, were led into the groſſeſt miſtakes, and imagined, at one time, that this order was that of the *Catharists*, at another, that it was the ſect of the *Waldenſes*, &c. But, in order to have diſtinct ideas of this matter, it muſt be conſidered, that the word *Fraterculus*, or *Little Brother*, bore a quite different ſenſe from the ludicrous one now mentioned, when it was applied to the auſtere part of the Franciſcans, who maintained the neceſſity of obſerving, in the ſtricteſt manner, the rule of their founder. Inſtead of being a nick-name, or a term of deriſion when applied to them, it was an honourable denomination, in which they delighted, and which they preferred infinitely before all other titles. *Fratricelli*, or *Little Brothers*, is a word of the ſame ſignification with *Friars-minors*; and every one knows, that this latter appellation was adopted by the Franciſcans, as an expreſſion of their extraordinary humility and modeſty. In aſſuming this title, therefore, theſe monks did not, properly ſpeaking, aſſume a new name, but only tranſlated the ancient name of their order into the Italian language; for what the Latins called *Fratres Minores*, i. e. *Friars-minors*, that the Italians called *Fratricelli*. Of the many proofs we might draw from the beſt authors in favour of this account of the matter, we ſhall only allege one, from the *Life of Thomas Aquinas*, by GUILIELMUS DE THOCO *in Actis Sanctor. Martii*, tom. i. cap. ii. § xxi. *Deſtruxit* (ſays that biographer) *et tertium peſtiferum pravitatis errorem St. Thomas . . . cujus ſectatores ſimul et inventores* SE NOMINANT FRATERCULOS DE VITA PAUPERE, *ut etiam ſub hoc humilitatis ſophiſtico nomine ſimplicium corda ſeducant . . . . Contra quem errorem peſtiferum Johannes Papa* XXII. *mirandam edidit Decretalem.*

Now this very *Decretal* of JOHN XXII. againſt the *Fratricelli*, which THOCO calls *Admirable*, is, to mention no other teſtimonies,

called *Tertiaries* [q]; so likewise the order of the *Fratricelli*, who were desirous of being considered as

monies, a sufficient and satisfactory proof of what I have affirmed in relation to that sect. In this Decretal, which is to be seen in the *Extravagantia Joh.* XXII. *Corporis Juris Canon.* tom. ii. p. 1112. edit. *Bœhmerianæ*, the pontif expresses himself thus: *Nonnulli profanæ multitudinis viri, qui vulgariter Fratricelli seu Fratres de paupere vita, Bizochi, sive Beguini, nuncupantur in partibus Italiæ, in insula Siciliæ . . . . publicè mendicare solent.* The pontif afterwards divides the *Fratricelli*, into *Monks* and *Tertiaries*, or (which amounts to the same thing, as we shall shew in its place) into *Fratricelli* and *Beguins*. With respect to the *Fratricelli*, properly so called, he expresses himself thus: *Plurimi regulam seu ordinem Fratrum Minorum . . . Se profiteri ad litteram conservare confingunt, prætendentes se a sanctæ memoriæ Cœlestino Papa Quinto, prædecessore nostro, hujus status, seu vitæ privilegium habuisse. Quod tamen, et sit ostenderent, non valeret, cum Bonifacius Papa Octavus ex certis causis rationabilibus omnia ab ipso Cœlestino concessa : . . . viribus penitus evacuaverit.* Here the pontif describes clearly those *Fratricelli*, who, separating themselves from the Franciscans with a view to observe more strictly the rule of St. FRANCIS, were erected into a distinct order by pope CELESTIN V. And in the following passage he characterises, with the same perspicuity, the *Bizochi* or *Beguins*, who entitled themselves of *The third order of the penitents of St. Francis: Nonnulli ex ipsis asserentes se esse de tertio ordine beati Franciſci pœnitentium vocato, prædictum statum et ritum eorum sub velamine talis nominis satagunt palliare.*

[q] Besides two very austere rules drawn up by St. FRANCIS, the one for the *Friars-minors*, and the other for the *Poor Sisters*, called *Clarisses*, from St. CLARA their founder, this famous chief drew up a *third*, whose demands were less rigorous, for such, as, without abandoning their worldly affairs, or resigning their possessions, were, nevertheless, disposed to enter, with certain restrictions, into the Franciscan order, and desirous of enjoying the privileges that were annexed to it. This rule prescribed fasting, continence, hours of devotion and prayer, mean and dirty apparel, gravity of manners, and things of that nature; but neither prohibited contracting marriage, accumulating wealth, filling civil employments, nor attending to worldly affairs. All the Franciscan historians have given accounts of this *third rule*, more especially WADDING. *Annal. Min.* tom. ii. p. 7.—HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 214. They, that professed this third rule, were called *Friars of the penance of Christ*, and sometimes also, on account of the meanness of their garments, *Brethren of the sack*, but they were more generally known by the denomination of *Tertiaries*. The greatest

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as the only genuine followers of St. FRANCIS, had a great number of *Tertiaries* attached to their cauſe. Theſe *Tertiaries*, or half-monks, were called, in *Italy*, *Bizochi* and *Bocaſoti*; in *France*, *Beguins*; and in *Germany*, *Beguards*, or *Beghards*, which laſt was the denomination by which they were commonly known in almoſt all places [*r*]. They

part of the religious orders in the church of *Rome* imitated this inſtitution of St. FRANCIS, as ſoon as they perceived the various advantages that were deducible from it. And hence, at this day, theſe orders continue to have their *Tertiaries*.

[*r*] The *Tertiaries* that were connected with the order of the *Fratricelli*, aroſe about the year 1296, in the marquiſate of *Ancona* and the neighbouring countries, and were called *Bizochi*, as we learn from the edict iſſued out againſt them, in the year 1297, by BONIFACE VIII., and publiſhed by DU BOULAY, in his *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 541. They are mentioned under the ſame title by JOHN XXII., in the bull already cited. Add to all theſe authorities, that of the learned DU FRESNE, who, in his *Gloſſar. Latinit. mediæ*, tom. i. p. 1188. obſerves, that this denomination is derived from *Bizochus*, which ſignifies in French *une Beſace*, i. e. a *ſack* or *wallet*, ſuch as beggars in general, and theſe holy beggars in particular, were uſed to carry about with them. The term *Bocaſotus*, or *Vocaſotus*, as DU BOULAY writes it (in his *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 510.) has no doubt the ſame origin, and bears the ſame ſignification. It is uſed by JORDAN, in his *Chronicle*, from whence we ſhall cite a remarkable paſſage in the following note. The denominations of *Beghards* and *Beguins*, that were given to the *Tertiaries* in *France* and in *Italy*, are very frequently to be met with in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Middle Age. The accounts, however, which both ancient and modern writers generally give of theſe famous names, are ſo uncertain, and ſo different from each other, that we need not be ſurpriſed to find the hiſtory of the *Beghards* and *Beguins* involved in greater perplexity and darkneſs, than any other part of the Eccleſiaſtical Annals of the Age now mentioned. It is therefore my preſent deſign to remove this perplexity, and to diſpel this darkneſs, as far as that can be done in the ſhort ſpace to which I am confined, and to diſcloſe the true origin of theſe famous denominations.

The words *Beghard* or *Beggehard*, *Begutta*, *Beghinus*, and *Beghina*, which only differ in their termination, have all one and the ſame ſenſe. The German and Belgic nations wrote *Beghard* and *Begutte*, which terminations are extremely common in the language of the ancient Germans. But the French ſubſtituted the Latin termination in the place of the German, and changed

They differed from the *Fratricelli*, not in their opinions and doctrine, but only in their manner of

changed *Beghard* into *Beghinus* and *Beghina*; so that those who in *Holland* and *Germany* were called *Beghard* and *Begutte*, were denominated in *France*, *Beghini* and *Beghinæ*. Nay, even in *Germany* and *Holland*, the Latin termination was gradually introduced instead of the German, particularly in the feminine term *Begutta*, of which change we might allege several probable reasons, were this the proper place for disquisitions of that nature. There are many different opinions concerning the origin and signification of these terms, which it would be too tedious to mention, and still more so to refute. Besides, I have done this in a large work now almost finished, concerning the *Beghards* and *Beghines*, wherein I have traced out with the utmost pains and labour, in Records, the greatest part of which have never seen the light, the history of all the different sects to whom these names have been given, and have at the same time detected the errors into which many learned men have fallen in treating this part of the history of the church *. At present, therefore, setting aside many opinions and conjectures, I shall confine myself to a brief inquiry into the true origin and signification of these words. They are undoubtedly derived from the old German word *beggen*, *beggeren*, which signifies to *seek any thing with importunity, zeal, and earnestness*. In joining to this word the syllable *hard*, which is the termination of many German words, we have the term *Beggehard*, which is applicable to a person who asks any thing with ardour and importunity. And as none are so remarkable for asking in this manner as common beggars, who subsist upon the liberality of the public, therefore, in the ancient German language, they were called *Beghard*, from which the English word *beggar* is manifestly derived. *Begutta* signifies a female beggar.—When Christianity was introduced into *Germany*, the word *beggen*, or *beggeren*, was used in a religious sense, and expressed the act of devout and fervent prayer to the Supreme Being. Accordingly we find in the Gothick translation of the Four Gospels attributed to UPHILAS, the word *beggen* employed to express the duty of *earnest and fervent prayer*. Hence, when any person distinguished himself from others by the frequency and fervour of his devotional services, he was called a *Beghard*, i. e. *a devout man*; and the denomination of *Begutta* was given, in the same sense, to women of uncommon piety. And as they, who distinguished themselves from others by the frequency of their prayers, assumed by that

☞ * The work here hinted at has not yet appeared; though we hope that those who are entrusted with the papers of the learned author, will prevent such a valuable production being lost to the republic of letters.

of living. The *Fratricelli* were real monks, ſubjected to the rule of St. FRANCIS; while the *Bizochi*,

means a more ſtriking air of external devotion than the reſt of their fellow-chriſtians; hence it came to paſs, that all thoſe who were ambitious of appearing more religious and devout than their neighbours, were called *Beghardi*, or *Beguttæ*.

The obſervations we have hitherto made, with reſpect to the origin and ſignification of the words in queſtion, will ſerve as a clue to deliver the attentive reader from that labyrinth of difficulties in which the hiſtory of the *Beghards* and *Beghinæ* has been involved. They will alſo enable him to account for the prodigious multitudes of *Beghards* and *Beguines* that ſprung up in *Europe* in the thirteenth century; and will ſhew him how it happened, that theſe denominations were given to above thirty ſects or orders, which differed widely from each other in their opinions, their diſcipline and manner of living. The firſt and original ſignification of the word *Beghard* (or *Beggert*, as it was pronounced by the common people) was *importunate beggar*. Therefore, when the people ſaw certain perſons, not only embracing with reſignation, but alſo with the moſt voluntary choice, and under a pretext of devotion, the horrors of abſolute poverty, begging their daily bread from door to door, and renouncing all their worldly poſſeſſions and occupations, they called all ſuch perſons *Beghards*, or, if they were women, *Beghurts*, without ever once conſidering the variety of opinions and maxims by which they were diſtinguiſhed. The ſect called *Apoſtles*, the rigid Franciſcans, the *Brethren of the free ſpirit* (of whom hereafter), all embraced this ſordid ſtate of beggary; and though among theſe orders there was not only the wideſt difference, but even the greateſt oppoſition, the Germans called them indiſcriminately *Beghards*, from the miſerable ſtate which they had all embraced. Nor is this to be wondered at; the character, which they poſſeſſed in common, was ſtriking; while the ſentiments and maxims that divided them eſcaped the obſervation of the multitude.

But the word *Beghard* acquired a ſecond and a new ſignification in this century, being employed, as we have already obſerved, to ſignify a perſon who *prayed* with uncommon frequency, and who *diſtinguiſhed himſelf from thoſe about him by an extraordinary appearance of piety*. The force of this term, in its new ſignification, is the ſame with that of the word *Methodiſt*, which is at preſent the denomination of a certain ſet of fanatics in theſe kingdoms. Such, therefore, as departed from the manner of living that was uſual among their fellow-citizens, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the gravity of their aſpect, and the auſterity of their manners, were comprehended under the general denomination of *Beghards* and *Beguttes* in *Germany*, and of *Beguins* and

Beguines

Bizochi, or *Beguins*, if we except their ſordid habit, and certain obſervances and maxims, which they followed in conſequence of the injunctions of the famous ſaint now mentioned, lived after the manner of other men, and were therefore conſidered

Beguines in *France*. The uſe of theſe terms was, at firſt, ſo extenſive, that, as we could ſhew by many examples, they were applied even to the monks themſelves; but, in proceſs of time, they were applied with leſs extent, and were confined to thoſe who formed a ſort of an intermediate order between the *monks* and *citizens*, and who reſembled the former in their manner of living, without aſſuming their name, or contracting their obligations. The *Tertiaries*, therefore, or half-monks of the Dominican, Franciſcan, and, in general, of all the religious orders, were called *Beghards*; for though; as *lay-citizens*, they belonged to the body politic, yet they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their monkiſh diſpoſitions, and their profeſſion of extraordinary piety and ſanctity of manners. The *Fraternity of weavers*, the *Brethren of St.* ALEXIUS, the *Followers of* GERHARD *the Great*, in a word, all who pretended to an uncommon degree of ſanctity and devotion, were called *Beghards*, although they procured themſelves the neceſſaries of life by honeſt induſtry, without having recourſe to the ſordid trade of begging.

The denominations, therefore, of *Beghards*, *Beguttes*, *Beguins*, and *Beguines*, are rather honourable than otherwiſe, when we conſider their origin; and they are mentioned as ſuch, in ſeveral records and deeds of this century, whoſe authority is moſt reſpectable, particularly in the Teſtament of St. LEWIS, king of *France*. But, in proceſs of time, theſe terms loſt gradually, as the caſe often happens, their primitive ſignification, and became marks of infamy and deriſion. For, among theſe religious *beggars* and theſe ſanctimonious pretenders to extraordinary piety, there were many, whoſe piety was nothing more than the moſt ſenſeleſs ſuperſtition; many, alſo, whoſe auſtere devotion was accompanied with the opinions of a corrupt nature, and entirely oppoſite to the doctrine of the church, and (what was ſtill more horrible) many artful hypocrites, who, under the maſk of religion, concealed the moſt abominable principles, and committed the moſt enormous crimes. Theſe were the fools and knaves who brought the denomination of *Beghards* into diſrepute, and rendered it both ridiculous and infamous, ſo that it was only employed to ſignify idiots, heretics, or hypocrites. The denomination of *Lolhards*, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more amply hereafter, met with the ſame fate, and was rendered contemptible by the perſons who maſked their iniquity under that ſpecious title.

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in no other light, than as *ſeculars* and *laymen* [*s*]. It is, however, to be obſerved, that the *Bizochi* were divided into two claſſes, which derived their different denominations of *perfect* and *imperfect*, from the different degrees of auſterity that they diſcovered in their manner of living. The *perfect* lived upon alms, abſtained from wedlock, and had no fixed habitations. The *imperfect*, on the contrary, had their houſes, wives, and poſſeſſions, and were engaged, like the reſt of their fellow-citizens, in the various affairs of life [*t*].

A great difference between the Franciſcan Beguines and thoſe of Germany and the Netherlands.

XLI. We muſt not confound theſe *Beguins* and *Beguines*, who derived their origin from an auſtere

[*s*] See the *Acta Inquiſ. Theoloſ.* publiſhed by LIMBORCH, p. 298. 302. 310. 313. and particularly 307. 329. 382. 389, &c. Among the various paſſages of ancient writers, which tend to illuſtrate the hiſtory of the *Fratricelli* and *Beguins*, I ſhall quote only one, which is to be found in JORDAN's *Chronicon*, publiſhed by MURATORI, in his *Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iv. p. 1020. and confirms almoſt every thing we have ſaid upon that head; *Anno* 1294. *Petrus de Macerata et Petrus de Foroſempronco Apoſtatæ fuerunt ordinis Minorum et hæretici. His petentibus eremitice vivere, ut Regulam B. Franciſci ad litteram ſervare poſſent. Quibus plures Apoſtatæ adhæſerunt, qui ſtatum communitatis damnabant et declarationes Regulæ, et vocabant ſe Fratres S. Franciſci* (he ought to have ſaid *Fratricellos*) *Seculares*; (i. e. the *Tertiaries*, who were the friends and aſſociates of the *Fratricelli*, without quitting, however, their ſecular ſtate, or entering into the monaſtic order), *Sæculares autem vocarunt Bizocios aut Fratricellos vel Bocaſotos* (here JORDAN is miſtaken) in affirming, that the *Sæculares* were called *Fratricelli*; for this latter name belonged only to the true monks of St. FRANCIS, and not to the *Tertiaries*. The other circumſtances of this account are exact, and ſhew that the more auſtere profeſſors of the Franciſcan rule were divided into two claſſes, *viz.* into *friars* and *ſeculars*, and that the latter were called *Bizochi*. *Ii dogmatizabant, quod nullus ſummus Pontifex Regulam B. Franciſci declarare potuit. Item, quod Angelus abſtulit a Nicolao tertio Papatus auctoritatem . . . . Et quod ipſi ſoli ſunt in via Dei et vera eccleſia*, &c.

[*t*] This diviſion is mentioned, or ſuppoſed, by ſeveral authors, and more eſpecially in the *Acta Inquiſit. Tholoſanæ*, p. 303. 310. 312, 313. 319, &c.

branch

branch of the Franciſcan order, with the German and Belgic *Beguines*, who crept out of their obſcurity in this century, and multiplied prodigiouſly in a very ſhort ſpace of time [*u*]. Their origin was of earlier date than this century, but it was only now that they acquired a name, and made a noiſe in the world. Their primitive eſtabliſhment was, undoubtedly, the effect of virtuous diſpoſitions and upright intentions. A certain number of pious women, both virgins and widows, in order to maintain their integrity, and preſerve their principles from the contagion of a vicious and corrupt age, formed themſelves into ſocieties, each of which had a fixed place of reſidence, and was under the inſpection and government of a female head. Here they divided their time between exerciſes of devotion, and works of

[*u*] In the laſt century, there was a great debate carried on in the Netherlands concerning the origin of the *Beghards* and *Beguines*, of which I have given an ample account in a work not yet publiſhed. In the courſe of this controverſy, the *Beguines* produced the moſt authentic and unexceptionable records and diplomas, from which it appeared, that, ſo early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there had been ſeveral ſocieties of *Beguines* eſtabliſhed in *Holland* and *Flanders*. It is true, they had no more than three of theſe authentic acts to offer as a proof of their antiquity; the firſt was drawn up in the year 1065, the ſecond in the year 1129, the third in 1151; and they were all three drawn up, at *Vilvorden*, by the *Beguines*, who, at that time, were ſettled there. See AUB. MIRÆI *Opera Diplomatico-hiſtorica*, tom. ii. c. xxvi. p. 948. and tom. iii. p. 628. edit. nov.—ERYCIUS PUTEANUS, *De Beghinarum apud Belgas inſtituto et nomine ſuffragio*. This treatiſe of PUTEANUS is to be found with another of the ſame author, and upon the ſame ſubject, in a work entitled, JOSEPHI GELDOLPHI A RYCKEL *Vita S. Veggæ cum Adnotationibus*, p. 65—227. *Duaci*, 1631, in 4to. Now, though we grant that thoſe writers are miſtaken, who place the firſt riſe of the *Beguines* in the twelfth or thirteenth century, yet the ſmall number of authentic records, which they have to produce in favour of their antiquity, is an inconteſtable proof of the obſcurity in which they lay concealed before the time in which theſe writers place their origin, and may render it almoſt probable, that the only *convent of Beguines*, that exiſted before the thirteenth century, was that of *Vilvorden* in *Brabant*.

honeſt

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honeſt induſtry, reſerving to themſelves the liberty of entering into the ſtate of matrimony, as alſo of quitting the convent, whenever they thought proper. And as all thoſe among the female ſex, who made extraordinary profeſſions of piety and devotion, were diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Beguines*, i. e. perſons who were uncommonly *aſſiduous in prayer*, that title was given to the women of whom we are now ſpeaking [*w*]. The firſt ſociety of this kind, that we read of, was formed at *Nivelle* in *Brabant*, in the year 1226 [*x*]; and was followed by ſo many inſtitutions of a like nature in *France*, *Germany*, *Holland*, and *Flanders*, that, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, there was ſcarcely a city of any note, that had not its *beguinage*, or *vineyard*, as it was ſometimes called in conformity to the ſtyle of the *Song of Songs* [*y*]. All theſe female ſocieties were

[*w*] All the *Beghards* and *Beguines* that yet remain in *Flanders* and *Holland*, where their convents have almoſt entirely changed their ancient and primitive form, affirm unanimouſly, that both their name and inſtitution derive their origin from St. BEGGHE, ducheſs of *Brabant*, and daughter of PEPIN, mayor of the palace to the king of *Auſtraſia*, who lived in the ſeventh century. This lady, therefore, they conſider as their patroneſs, and honour her as a kind of tutelary divinity with the deepeſt ſentiments of veneration and reſpect. See Jos. GELD. A RYCKEL *in vita S. Beggæ cum Adnotat. Duaci et Lovanii edita*; a work of great bulk and little merit, and full of the moſt ſilly and inſipid fables.—Thoſe who are no well-wiſhers to the cauſe of the *Beguines*, adopt a quite different account of their origin, which they deduce from LAMBERT LE BEGUE, a prieſt and native of *Liege*, who lived in the twelfth century, and was much eſteemed on account of his eminent piety. The learned PETER COENS, canon of *Antwerp*, has defended this opinion with more erudition than any other writer, in his *Diſquiſitio Hiſtorica de Origine Beghinarum et Beghinagiorum in Belgio, Leod*, 1672, in 12mo.

☞ [*x*] Other hiſtorians ſay, in the year 1207.

[*y*] See MATTH. PARIS, *Hiſtor. Major, ad An.* 1243 & 1250, p. 540. 696.—THOMAS CANTIPRATENSIS *in Bono Univerſali de Apibus*, lib. ii. cap. li. p. 478. edit. *Colvenerii*.—PETRUS DE HERENTHAL, in his *Annals*, from which, though they

were not governed by the ſame laws; but, in the greateſt part of them, the hours, that were not devoted to prayer, meditation, or other religious exerciſes, were employed in weaving, embroidering, and other manual labours of various kinds. The poor, ſick, and diſabled *Beguines* were ſupported by the pious liberality of ſuch opulent perſons as were friends to the order.

Beghards or Lollards.

XLII. This female inſtitution was ſoon imitated in *Flanders* by the other ſex; and conſiderable numbers of unmarried men, both bachelors and widowers, formed themſelves into communities of the ſame kind with thoſe of the *Beguines*, under the inſpection and government of a certain chief, and with the ſame religious views and purpoſes; ſtill, however, reſerving to themſelves the liberty of returning to their former method of life [z]. Theſe pious perſons were, in the ſtyle of this age, called *Beghards*, and by a corruption of that term uſual among the Flemiſh and Dutch, *Bogards*; from others they received the denomination of *Lollards*; in *France* they were diſtinguiſhed at firſt by that of *Bons Valets*, or *Bons Garçons*, and afterwards by that of *Beguins*: they were alſo called the *Fraternity of weavers*, from the trade which the greateſt part of them exerciſed. The firſt ſociety of the *Beghards* ſeems to have been that which was eſtabliſhed at *Antwerp* in the year 1228, and continues ſtill in a flouriſhing ſtate; though the *brethren*, of whom it is compoſed, have long ſince departed from their

they are not yet publiſhed, we have a very remarkable paſſage cited by Jos. GELD. A RYCKEL, in his *Obſervationes ad Vitam S. Beggæ*, § cxcvi. p. 355. The origin and charters of the convents of *Beguines*, that were founded during this and the following century in *Holland* and *Flanders*, are treated in an ample manner by AUB. MIRÆUS, in his *Opera Hiſtorico-diplomatica*, JOHN BAPT. GRAMMAYE, in his *Antiquitates Belgicæ*, ANTON. SANDERS, in his *Brabantia et Flandria illuſtrata*, and by the other writers of Belgic hiſtory.

[z] MATTH. PARIS, *Hiſt. Major. ad An.* 1253, p. 539, 540.

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primitive rule of diſcipline and manners. This firſt eſtabliſhment of the *Beghards* was followed by many more in *Germany*, *France*, *Holland*, and *Flanders*; though, after all their ſucceſs, their congregations were leſs numerous than thoſe of the *Beguines* [*a*]. It is worthy of obſervation that the Roman pontifs never honoured the ſocieties of the *Beghards* and *Beguines* with their ſolemn or explicit approbation, nor confirmed their eſtabliſhments by the ſeal of their authority. They, however, granted them a full toleration, and even defended them often againſt the ſtratagems and violence of their enemies, who were many in number. This appears by the edicts in favour of the *Beghards*, which the pontifs granted in compliance with the earneſt ſolicitations of many illuſtrious perſonages, who wiſhed well to that ſociety. It did not however continue always in a flouriſhing ſtate. The greateſt part of the convents, both of the *Beghards* and *Beguines*, are now either demoliſhed, or converted to other uſes. In *Flanders*, indeed, a conſiderable number of the latter ſtill ſubſiſt, but few of the former are to be found any where.

Greek writers.

XLIII. After the accounts hitherto given of the rulers of the church, and of the monaſtic and other religious orders that were inſtituted or became famous during this century, it will not be improper to conclude this chapter, by mention-

[*a*] See RYCKELII *Vita S. Beggæ*, p. 635—ANT. SANDERII *Flandria Illuſtrata*, lib. c. xvi. p. 136.—Jo. BAPT. GRAMMAYEI *Antiquit. Fland. & in Gandavo*, p. 22.—AUB. MIRÆI *Opera Diplom. Hiſt.* tom. iii. c. clxviii. p. 145.—HELYOT, *Hiſt. des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 248, who is, nevertheleſs, chargeable with many errors—GERHARDUS ANTONINUS, *Pater Miniſter* (ſo the head of the order is called in our times) *Beghardorum Antwerpienſium in Epiſtola ad Ryckium de Beghardorum origine et fatis*, in RYCKELII *Vita S. Beggæ*, p. 489. This author, indeed, from a ſpirit of partiality to his order, conceals the truth deſignedly in various places.

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ing briefly the Greek and Latin writers, who, during the ſame period, acquired a name by their learned productions. The moſt eminent among the Greeks were,

NICETAS ACOMINATUS, who compoſed a work entitled, *The Hiſtory and Treaſure of the Orthodox Faith*;

GERMANUS, the Grecian patriarch, of whom we have yet extant, among other productions of leſs note, *A Book againſt the Latins*, and *An Expoſition of the Greek Liturgy*;

THEODORUS LASCARIS, who left behind him ſeveral treatiſes upon various ſubjects of a religious nature, and who alſo entered the liſts againſt the Latins, which was the reigning paſſion among ſuch of the Greeks, as were endowed with any tolerable parts, and were deſirous of ſhewing their zeal for the honour of their nation;

NICEPHORUS BLEMMIDA, who employed his talents in the ſalutary work of healing the diviſions between the Greeks and Latins;

ARSENIUS, whoſe *Synopſis of the Canon Law of the Greeks*, is far from being contemptible;

GEORGIUS ACROPOLITA, who acquired a high degree of renown, not only by his hiſtorical writings, but alſo by the tranſactions and negociations in which he was employed by the emperor MICHAEL;

JOHANNES BECCUS or VECCUS, who involved himſelf in much trouble, and made himſelf many enemies, by defending the cauſe of the Latins againſt his own nation with too much zeal;

GEORGE METOCHITA, and CONSTANTINE MELITENIOTA, who employed, without ſucceſs, their moſt earneſt efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins;

GEORGE PACHYMERES, who acquired a name by his commentary upon DIONYSIUS, the pretended

chief

chief of the myſtics, and by a hiſtory which he compoſed of his own time; and

GEORGE the *Cyprian*, whoſe hatred of the Latins, and warm oppoſition to VECCUS above-mentioned, rendered him more famous than all his other productions [*b*].

Latin writers.

XLIV. The prodigious number of Latin writers that appeared in this century, renders it impoſſible for us to mention them all; we ſhall therefore confine our account to thoſe among them, who were the moſt eminent, and whoſe theological writings demand moſt frequently our notice in the courſe of this hiſtory. Such are,

JOACHIM, abbot of *Flora* in *Calabria*, who, though eſteemed on account of his piety and knowledge, was, nevertheleſs, a man of mean parts and of a weak judgment, full of enthuſiaſtic and viſionary notions, and therefore conſidered, during his life and after his death, by the miſerable and blinded multitude, as a prophet ſent from above. The pretended prophecies of this ſilly fanatic are abundantly known, and have been frequently publiſhed [*c*];

STEPHEN LANGTON, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who wrote commentaries upon the greateſt part of the books of ſcripture [*d*];

FRANCIS, the founder of the famous ſociety of *Friars-minors*, or *Franciſcans*, whoſe writings were

[*b*] For a more ample account of all theſe writers, the reader may conſult the *Bibliotheca Græca* of FABRICIUS.

[*c*] The life of JOACHIM was written in Italian by GREGORY DI LAURO, and publiſhed in 4to at *Naples* in the year 1660. The firſt edition of his prophecies was printed at *Venice*, in the year 1517, and was followed by ſeveral new editions, to ſatisfy the curioſity of the populace, great and ſmall.

☞ [*d*] LANGTON was a learned and polite author for the age he lived in. It is to him we are indebted for the diviſion of the Bible into chapters. He wrote *Commentaries* upon all the *Books of the Old Teſtament*, and upon *St. Paul's Epiſtles*.

deſigned

deſigned to touch the heart, and excite pious and devout ſentiments, but diſcover little genius, and leſs judgment;

ALAN DE L'ISLE, a logician, who made no mean figure among the diſputatious tribe, who applied himſelf alſo to the ſtudy of chemiſtry, and publiſhed ſeveral moral diſcourſes, in which there are many wiſe and uſeful exhortations and precepts [*e*];

JACOBUS DE VITRIACO, who acquired a name by his *Oriental Hiſtory*; and JACOBUS DE VORAGINE, whoſe *Hiſtory of the Lombards* [*f*] was received with applauſe.

The writers of this century, who obtained the greateſt renown on account of their laborious reſearches in, what was called, philoſophical or dialectical theology, were ALBERTUS MAGNUS, THOMAS AQUINAS, and BONAVENTURA, who were, each of them, truly poſſeſſed of an inquiſitive turn of mind, a ſublime and penetrating genius, accompanied with an uncommon talent of ſounding the moſt hidden truths, and treating with facility the moſt abſtruſe ſubjects, though they are all chargeable with errors and reveries that do little honour to their memories [*g*]. The other

[*e*] Several of the name of ALAN lived in this century, who have been ſtrangely confounded both by ancient and modern writers. See JAQ. LE BOEUF, *Memoires ſur l'Hiſt. d'Auxerre*, tom. i. p. 300. & *Diſſert. ſur l'Hiſt. Civil. et Eccleſ. de Paris*, tom. ii. p. 293.

[*f*] JAC. ECHARDI *Scriptor. Domin.* tom. i. p. 454.—BOLLANDI *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. p. 9.

[*g*] For an account of ALBERT, ſee ECHARD. *Script. Dom.* tom. i. p. 162.—For an account of THOMAS AQUINAS, who was called the *Angel of the ſcholaſtics* among other ſplendid titles, ſee the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. *Martii*, p. 655. & ANT. TURON, *Vie de St. Thomas, Paris*, 1737, in 4to.—We have alſo a circumſtantial relation of whatever concerns the life, writings, and exploits of BONAVENTURA, the tutelary ſaint of the *Lionnois* in *France*, in the two following books, *viz.* COLONIA, *Hiſtoire Litteraire de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 307. and the *Hiſtoire*

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other writers, who trod the ſame intricate paths of metaphyſical divinity, were many in number, and ſeveral of them juſtly admired, though much inferior in renown to the celebrated triumvirate now mentioned; ſuch were ALEXANDER DE HALES, the interpreter of ARISTOTLE, WILLIAM of *Paris* [*b*], ROBERT CAPITO [*i*], THOMAS CANTIPRATENSIS, JOHN DE PECKHAM, WILLIAM DURAND, ROGER BACON [*k*], RICHARD MIDDLETON, ÆGIDIUS DE COLUMNA, ARMAND DE BELLO VISU, and ſeveral others.

HUGO DE ST. CARO gained much applauſe by the *Concordance*, which he compoſed, of the *Holy Bible* [*l*].

GUILLAUME DE ST. AMOUR carried on with great ſpirit and reſolution, but with little ſucceſs, a literary and theological war againſt the Mendicant friars, who looked upon begging as a mark of ſanctity.

HUMBERT DE ROMANIS drew up a ſyſtem of rules and precepts, with a view to put under a better regulation the lives and manners of the monaſtic orders.

Hiſtoire de la Vie et du Culte de S. Bonaventure, par un Religieux Cordelier, à Lyon, 1747, in 8vo.

[*b*] See the *Gallia Chriſtiana*, publiſhed by the Benedictines, tom. vii. p. 95.

[*i*] The learned ANTHONY WOOD has given an ample account of ROBERT CAPITO, in his *Antiquitat. Oxonienſ.* tom. i. p. 81. 105.

☞ [*k*] We are ſurpriſed to find ROGER BACON thruſt here into a crowd of vulgar *literati*, ſince that great man, whoſe aſtoniſhing genius and univerſal learning have already been taken notice of, was, in every reſpect, ſuperior to ALBERT and BONAVENTURA, two of the heroes of Dr. MOSHEIM's triumvirate.

☞ [*l*] HUGO DE ST. CARO, or *St. Cher*, compoſed alſo a very learned collection of the various readings of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin manuſcripts of the Bible. This work, which he entitled *Correctorium Bibliæ*, is preſerved in manuſcript in the Sorbonne library. We muſt not forget to obſerve alſo, that his *Concordance* is the firſt that ever was compiled.

GUILIELMUS PERALDUS aroſe in this century to the higheſt degree of literary renown, in conſequence of a ſyſtem of morals he publiſhed under the title of *Summa Virtutum et Vitiorum* [*m*].

RAYMOND MARTIN yet ſurvives the oblivion that has covered many of his cotemporaries; and his *Pugio Fidei*, or *Sword of Faith*, which he drew againſt the Jews and Saracens, has eſcaped the ruins of time.

JOHN of PARIS deſerves an eminent rank among the glorious defenders of truth, liberty, and juſtice; ſince he maintained the authority of the civil powers, and the majeſty of kings and princes, againſt the ambitious ſtratagems and uſurpations of the Roman pontifs, and declared openly his oppoſition to the opinion that was commonly adopted with reſpect to the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, and the preſence of CHRIST in that holy ordinance [*n*].

CHAP. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Chriſtian church during this century.

I. HOWEVER numerous and deplorable the corruptions and ſuperſtitious abuſes were, that had hitherto reigned in the church, and deformed the beautiful ſimplicity of the goſpel, they were nevertheleſs increaſed in this century, inſtead of being reformed, and the religion of

The general ſtate of religion.

[*m*] See COLONIA, *Hiſtoire Litteraire de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 322.

[*n*] We may learn his opinion concerning the euchariſt from his treatiſe, entitled, *Determinatio de S. Cœna*, and publiſhed in 8vo at *London*, by the learned Dr. ALIX, in the year 1686.—See alſo ECHARDI *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 501.—BALUZII *Vita Pontif. Avenionenſ.* tom. i. p. 4. 576, 577.

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CHRIST continued to ſuffer under the growing tyranny of fanaticiſm and ſuperſtition. The progreſs of reaſon and truth was retarded among the Greeks and Orientals, by their immoderate averſion to the Latins, their blind admiration of whatever bore the ſtamp of antiquity, the indolence of their biſhops, the ſtupidity of their clergy, and the calamities of the times. Among the Latins, many concurring cauſes united to augment the darkneſs of that cloud that had already been caſt over the divine luſtre of genuine Chriſtianity. On the one hand, the Roman pontifs could not bear the thoughts of any thing that might have the remoteſt tendency to diminiſh their authority, or to encroach upon their prerogatives; and therefore they laboured aſſiduouſly to keep the multitude in the dark, and to blaſt every attempt that was made towards a reformation in the doctrine or diſcipline of the church. On the other hand, the ſchool divines, among whom the Dominican and Franciſcan monks made the greateſt figure on account of their unintelligible jargon and ſubtilty, ſhed perplexity and darkneſs over the plain truths of religion by their intricate diſtinctions and endleſs diviſions, and by that cavilling, quibbling, diſputatious ſpirit, that is the mortal enemy both of truth and virtue. It is true, that theſe ſcholaſtic doctors were not all equally chargeable with corrupting the truth; the moſt enormous and criminal corrupters of Chriſtianity were thoſe who led the multitude into the two following abominable errors: that it was in the power of man to perform, if he pleaſed, a more perfect obedience than God required; and that the whole of religion conſiſted in an external air of gravity, and in certain compoſed bodily geſtures.

II. It will be eaſy to confirm this general account of the ſtate of religion by particular facts.

In

In the fourth council of the Lateran that was held by INNOCENT III., in the year 1215, and at which a prodigious number of eccleſiaſtics were aſſembled [o], that imperious pontif, without deigning to conſult any body, publiſhed no leſs than ſeventy laws or decrees, by which not only the authority of the popes and the power of the clergy were confirmed and extended, but alſo new doctrines, or *articles of faith*, were impoſed upon Chriſtians. Hitherto the opinions of the Chriſtian doctors, concerning the *manner* in which the body and blood of CHRIST were *preſent* in the euchariſt, were extremely different; nor had the church determined by any clear and poſitive decree, the ſentiment that was to be embraced in relation to that important matter. It was reſerved for INNOCENT to put an end to the liberty, which every Chriſtian had hitherto enjoyed, of interpreting this preſence in the manner he thought moſt agreeable to the declarations of ſcripture, and to decide in favour of the moſt monſtrous doctrine that the frenzy of ſuperſtition was capable of inventing. This audacious pontif pronounced the opinion, that is embraced at this day in the church of *Rome* relating to that point, to be the only true and orthodox account of the matter; and he *had the honour* of introducing and eſtabliſhing the uſe of the term *Tranſubſtantiation*, which was hitherto abſolutely unknown [p]. The ſame pontif placed, by his own authority, among the duties preſcribed by the divine laws, that of *auricular confeſſion* to a prieſt; a confeſſion that implied not only a general acknowledgement, but alſo a particular enumeration of the ſins and follies of the penitent.

New articles of faith impoſed by Innocent III.

☞ [o] At this council there were preſent 412 biſhops, 800 abbots and priors, beſides the ambaſſadors of almoſt all the European princes.

[p] See EDM. ALBERTINUS, *De Euchariſtia*, lib. iii. p. 972.

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Before this period ſeveral doctors, indeed, looked upon this kind of *confeſſion*, as a duty inculcated by divine authority; but this opinion was not publicly received as the doctrine of the church. For though the confeſſion of ſins was juſtly looked upon as an eſſential duty, yet it was left to every Chriſtian's choice, to make this confeſſion mentally to the Supreme Being, or to expreſs it in words to a ſpiritual confident and director [q]. Theſe two laws, which, by the authority of INNOCENT, were received as laws of God, and adopted, of conſequence, as laws of the church, occaſioned a multitude of new injunctions and rites, of which not even the ſmalleſt traces are to be found in the ſacred writings, or in the apoſtolic and primitive ages, and which were much more adapted to eſtabliſh and extend the reign of ſuperſtition, than to open the eyes of the blinded multitude upon the enormous abuſes of which it had been the ſource.

The ſect of the Flagellantes, or Whippers.

III. There is nothing that will contribute more to convince us of the miſerable ſtate of religion in this century, and of the frenzy that almoſt generally prevailed in the devotion of theſe unhappy times, than the riſe of the ſect called *Flagellantes*, or *Whippers*, which ſprung up in *Italy* in the year 1260, and was propagated from thence through almoſt all the countries of *Europe*. The ſocieties that embraced this new diſcipline, preſented the moſt hideous and ſhocking ſpectacle that can well be conceived; they ran in multitudes, compoſed of perſons of both ſexes, and of all ranks and ages, through the public places of the moſt populous cities, and alſo through the fields and deſarts, with whips in their hands, laſhing their naked bodies with the moſt aſtoniſhing ſeverity, filling the air with their wild

[q] See the book of the learned DAILLE, concerning *Auricular Confeſſion*.

ſhrieks,

ſhrieks, and beholding the firmament with an air of diſtraction, ferocity, and horror; and all this with a view to obtain the divine mercy for themſelves, and others, by their voluntary mortification and penance [r]. This method of appeaſing the Deity was perfectly conformable to the notions concerning religion that generally prevailed in this century; nor did theſe fanatical *Whippers* do any thing more, in this extravagant diſcipline, than practiſe the leſſons they had received from the monks, eſpecially from thoſe of the Mendicant orders. Hence they attracted the eſteem and veneration not only of the populace, but alſo of their rulers, and were honoured and revered by all ranks and orders, on account of their extraordinary ſanctity and virtue. Their ſect, however, did not continue always in the ſame high degree of credit and reputation; for though the primitive *Whippers* were exemplary in point of morals, yet their ſocieties were augmented, as might naturally be expected, by a turbulent and furious rabble, many of whom were infected with the moſt ridiculous and impious opinions. Hence both the emperors and pontifs thought proper to put an end to this religious frenzy, by declaring all devout *whipping* contrary to the divine law, and prejudicial to the ſoul's eternal intereſts.

The method of interpreting and explaining the ſcriptures little altered in this century.

IV. The Chriſtian interpreters and commentators of this century differ very little from thoſe of the preceding times. The greateſt part of them pretended to draw from the depths of truth (or rather of their imaginations) what they called the *Internal juice and marrow* of the ſcriptures,

[r] CHRIST. SCHOTGENII *Hiſtoria Flagellantium*.—JAQUES BOILEAU, *Hiſtoire des Flagellans*, chap. ix. p. 253. We have alſo a lively picture of this fanatical diſcipline of the *Whippers*, exhibited in MARTENE's *Voyage Literaire de deux Benedictins*, tom. ii. p. 105. with which the reader may compare MURATORI *Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi. p. 469.

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i. e. their hidden and myſterious ſenſe; and this they did with ſo little dexterity, ſo little plauſibility and invention, that the moſt of their explications muſt appear inſipid and nauſeous to ſuch as are not entirely deſtitute of judgment and taſte. If our readers be deſirous of a proof of the juſtice of this cenſure, or curious to try the extent of their patience, they have only to peruſe the explications that have been given by archbiſhop LANGTON, HUGH DE ST. CHER, and ANTONY of *Padua*, of the various books of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*. The *Myſtic* doctors carried this viſionary method of interpreting ſcripture to the greateſt height, and diſplayed the moſt laborious induſtry, or rather the moſt egregious folly, in ſearching for myſteries, where reaſon and common ſenſe could find nothing but plain and evident truths. They were too *penetrating and quick-ſighted* not to perceive clearly in the holy ſcriptures all thoſe doctrines that were agreeable to their idle and fantaſtic ſyſtem. Nor were their adverſaries, the *ſchool-men*, entirely averſe to this arbitrary and fanciful manner of interpretation; though their principal induſtry was employed rather in collecting the explications given by the ancient doctors, than in inventing new ones, as appears from the writings of ALEXANDER HALES, GUILIELMUS ALVERNUS, and THOMAS AQUINAS himſelf. We muſt not, however, omit obſerving, that the ſcholaſtic doctors in general, and more eſpecially theſe now mentioned, had recourſe often to the ſubtilties of logic and metaphyſic, to aſſiſt them in their explications of the ſacred writings. To facilitate the ſtudy and interpretation of theſe divine books, HUGH DE ST. CHER compoſed his *Concordance* [s], and the Dominicans, under the eye of their ſupreme chief,

[s] See ECHARDI *Scriptor. Ord. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 194.

the learned JORDAN, gave a new edition of the Latin tranſlation of the Bible, carefully reviſed and corrected from the ancient copies [*t*]. The Greeks contributed nothing that deſerves attention towards the illuſtration of the Holy Scriptures; the greateſt part of which were expounded with great learning by GREGORY ABULPHARAIUS, that celebrated Syrian, whoſe erudition was famous throughout all the eaſt, and whom we have already had occaſion to mention in the courſe of this hiſtory [*u*].

The ſtate of the didactic theology.

V. Syſtems of theology and morals were multiplied exceedingly in this century; and the number of thoſe writers, who treated of the divine perfections and worſhip, and of the practical rules of virtue and obedience, is too great to permit our mentioning them particularly. All ſuch as were endowed with any conſiderable degree of genius and eloquence employed their labours upon theſe noble branches of ſacred ſcience, more eſpecially the academical and public teachers, among whom the Dominicans and Franciſcans held the moſt eminent rank. It is, indeed, neither neceſſary to mention the names, nor to enumerate the productions of theſe doctors, ſince whoever is acquainted with the characters and writings of ALBERT the Great and THOMAS AQUINAS, will know every thing that is worthy of note in the reſt, who were no more than their echos. The latter of theſe two truly great men, who is commonly called the *Angel of the ſchools*, or the *Angelic Doctor*, ſat unrivalled at the head of the divines of this century, and deſervedly obtained the principal place among thoſe who digeſted the doctrines of Chriſtianity into a re-

[*t*] RICH. SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccleſ. par M.* DU PIN.

[*u*] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 277.

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gular ſyſtem, and illuſtrated and explained them in a ſcientific manner. For no ſooner had his ſyſtem or *ſum* of theology and morals ſeen the light, than it was received univerſally with the higheſt applauſe, placed in the ſame rank with the famous *Book of Sentences* of PETER LOMBARD, and admitted as the ſtandard of truth and the great rule according to which the public teachers formed their plans of inſtruction, and the youth their method of ſtudy. Certain writers, indeed, have denied that THOMAS was the author of the celebrated ſyſtem that bears his name [*w*]; but the reaſons they allege in ſupport of this notion are utterly deſtitute of evidence and ſolidity [*x*].

The ſcholaſtic doctors, for the moſt part, *Realiſts* *.

VI. The greateſt part of theſe doctors followed ARISTOTLE as their model, and made uſe of the logical and metaphyſical principles of that ſubtile philoſopher, in illuſtrating the doctrines of Chriſtianity and removing the difficulties with which ſome of them were attended. In their philoſophical explications of the more ſublime truths of that divine religion they followed the hypotheſis of the *Realiſts*, which ſect, in this century, was much more numerous and flouriſhing than that of the *Nominaliſts*, on account of the luſtre and credit it derived from the authority of THOMAS AQUINAS and ALBERT, its learned and venerable patrons. Yet notwithſtanding all the ſubtilty and

[*w*] See Jo. LAUNOII *Traditio Eccleſiæ circa Simoniam*, p. 290.

[*x*] See NATALIS ALEXANDER, *Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Sæc.* xiii. p. 391.—ECHARD and QUETIF, *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator. Sæc.* xiii. tom. i. p. 293.—ANT. TOURON, *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 604.

☞ * In the original we find *Poſitivi* in the margin, which is manifeſtly a fault; ſince the *Poſitivi* were quite oppoſite, in their method of teaching, to the ſchoolmen, and were the ſame with *Biblici* mentioned in the following ſection. See above, Cent. XII. Part II. Ch. III. § VIII.

penetration of these *irrefragable*, *seraphic*, and *angelic* doctors, as they were commonly styled, they often appeared wiser in their own conceit, than they were in reality, and frequently did little more than involve in greater obscurity the doctrines which they pretended to place in the clearest light. For, not to mention the ridiculous oddity of many of their expressions, the hideous barbarity of their style, and their extravagant and presumptuous desire of prying into matters that infinitely surpass the comprehension of short-sighted mortals, they were chargeable with defects in their manner of reasoning, which every true philosopher will, of all others, be most careful to avoid. For they neither defined their terms accurately, and hence arose innumerable disputes merely about words; nor did they divide their subject with perspicuity and precision, and hence they generally treated it in a confused and unsatisfactory manner. The great *Angelic Doctor* himself, notwithstanding his boasted method, was defective in these respects; his definitions are often vague, or obscure, and his plans or divisions, though full of art, are frequently destitute of clearness and proportion.

VII. The method of investigating divine truth by reason and philosophy prevailed universally, and was followed with such ardour, that the number of those, who, in conformity with the example of the ancient doctors, drew their systems of theology from the holy scriptures and the

The number of compilers, or *Biblicists* *, greatly diminished.

☞ * In the margin of the original, instead of *Biblicists*, which we find in the text; Dr. MOSHEIM has wrote *Sententiarii*, which is undoubtedly an oversight. The *Sententiarii*, or followers of PETER LOMBARD, who is considered as the father of the scholastic philosophy, are to be placed in the same class with the philosophical divines, mentioned in the preceding section, and were quite opposite to the *Biblici*, both in their manner of thinking and teaching. See above, Cent. XII. Part II. Ch. III. § VIII.

writings

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writings of the fathers, and who acquired on that account the name of *Biblicists*, diminished from day to day. It is true indeed, that several persons of eminent piety [*y*], and even some of the Roman pontifs [*z*], exhorted with great seriousness and warmth the *scholastic* divines, and more especially those of the university of *Paris*, to change their method of teaching theology, and, laying aside their philosophical abstraction and subtilty, to deduce the sublime science of salvation from the holy scriptures with that purity and simplicity with which it was there delivered by the inspired writers. But these admonitions and exhortations were without effect; the evil was become too inveterate to admit of a remedy, and the passion for logic and metaphysic was grown so universal and so violent, that neither remonstrances nor arguments could check its presumption, or allay its ardour. In justice however to the scholastic doctors, it is necessary to observe, that they did not neglect the dictates of the gospel, nor the authority of tradition; though what they drew from these two sources proves sufficiently that they had studied neither with much attention or application of mind [*a*]. And it is moreover certain, that, in process of time, they

[*y*] See DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 9. 129. 180.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiqq. Oxonien.* tom. i. p. 91, 92. 94.

[*z*] See the famous epistle of GREGORY IX. to the professors in the university of *Paris*, published in DU BOULAY's *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 129. The pontif concludes that remarkable epistle with the following words: *Mandamus et strictè præcipimus, quatenus sine fermento mundanæ scientiæ, doceatis Theologicam puritatem non adulterantes verbum Dei Philosophorum figmentis . . . sed contenti terminis, a patribus institutis mentes auditorum vestrorum fructu cœlestis eloquii saginatis, ut hauriunt a fontibus salvatoris.*

[*a*] FAYDIT, *Alteration du Dogme Theologique par la Philosophie d'Aristote*, p. 289.—RICHARD SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccles. par M.* DU PIN, tom. i. p. 170. 187.

committed

committed to others the care of conſulting the ſources now mentioned, and reſerved to themſelves the much-reſpected province of philoſophy, and the intricate mazes of dialectical chicane. And, indeed, independent of their philoſophical vanity, we may aſſign another reaſon for this method of proceeding, drawn from the nature of their profeſſion, and the circumſtances in which they were placed. For the greateſt part of theſe ſubtile doctors were Dominican or Franciſcan friars; and as the monks of theſe Orders had no poſſeſſions, not even libraries, and led, beſides, wandering and itinerant lives, ſuch of them as were ambitious of literary fame, and of the honours of authorſhip, were, for the moſt part, obliged to draw their materials from their own genius and memory, being deſtitute of all other ſuccours. CENT. XIII. PART II.

VIII. The opinions which theſe philoſophical divines inſtilled into the minds of the youth, appeared to the votaries of the ancient fathers highly dangerous and even pernicious; and hence they uſed their utmoſt efforts to ſtop the progreſs of theſe opinions, and to diminiſh the credit and influence of their authors. Nor was their oppoſition at all ill-grounded; for the ſubtile doctors of the ſchool not only explained the myſteries of religion in a manner conformable to the principles of their preſumptuous logic, and modified them according to the dictates of their imperfect reaſon, but alſo propagated the moſt impious ſentiments and tenets concerning the Supreme Being, the material world, the origin of the univerſe, and the nature of the ſoul. And when it was objected to theſe ſentiments and tenets, that they were in direct contradiction to the genius of Chriſtianity, and to the expreſs doctrines of ſcripture, theſe ſcholaſtic quibblers had recourſe, for a reply, or rather for a method of eſcape, to that

Much oppoſition made to the ſcholaſtic doctors.

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that perfidious diſtinction, which has been frequently employed by modern deiſts, that theſe tenets were *philoſophically true*, and conformable to right reaſon, but that they were, indeed, *theologically falſe*, and contrary to the orthodox faith. This kindled an open war between the *Biblicists*, or Bible-divines, and the ſcholaſtic doctors, which was carried on with great warmth throughout the whole courſe of this century, particularly in the univerſities of *Oxford* and *Paris*, where we find the former loading the latter with the heavieſt reproaches in their public acts and in their polemic writings, and accuſing them of corrupting the doctrines of the goſpel both in their public leſſons and in their private diſcourſe [*b*]. Even St. THOMAS himſelf was accuſed of holding opinions contrary to the truth; his orthodoxy, at leaſt, was looked upon as extremely dubious by many of the Pariſian doctors [*c*]. He accordingly ſaw a formidable ſcene of oppoſition ariſing againſt him, but had the good fortune to conjure the ſtorm, and to eſcape untouched. Others, whoſe authority was leſs extenſive and their names leſs reſpectable, were treated with more ſeverity. The living were obliged to confeſs publicly their errors; and the dead, who had perſevered in them to the laſt, had their memories branded with infamy.

The Myſtics oppoſe the ſchoolmen.

IX. But the moſt formidable adverſaries the ſcholaſtic doctors had to encounter, were the *Myſtics*, who, rejecting every thing that had the leaſt reſemblance of argumentation or diſpute about

[*b*] See MATTH. PARIS, *Hiſtor. Major*, p. 541.—BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 397. 430. 433. 472, &c.

[*c*] See Jo. LAUNOII *Hiſtor. Gymnaſ. Navarreni*, part III. lib. iii. cap. cxvi. tom. iv. opp. part I. p. 485.—BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 204.—PETRI ZORNII *Opuſcula Sacra*, tom. i. p. 445.—R. SIMON, *Lettres Choiſies*, tom. ii. p. 266.—ECHARDI *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 435.

matters

matters of doctrine and opinion, confined their endeavours to the advancement of inward piety, and the propagation of devout and tender feelings, and thus acquired the higheſt degree of popularity. The people, who are much more affected with what touches their paſſions, than with what is only addreſſed to their reaſon, were attached to the *Myſtics* in the warmeſt manner; and this gave ſuch weight to the reproaches and invectives which they threw out againſt the *ſchool-men*, that the latter thought it more prudent to diſarm theſe favourites of the multitude by mild and ſubmiſſive meaſures, than to return their reproaches with indignation and bitterneſs. They accordingly ſet themſelves to flatter the *Myſtics*, and not only extolled their *ſentimental* ſyſtem, but employed their pens in illuſtrating and defending it; nay, they aſſociated it with the ſcholaſtic philoſophy, though they were as different from each other as any two things could poſſibly be. It is well known that BONAVENTURA, ALBERT the Great, ROBERT CAPITO, and THOMAS AQUINAS contributed to this reconciliation between Myſticiſm and Dialectics by their learned labours, and even went ſo far as to write commentaries upon DIONYSIUS, the chief of the Myſtics, whom theſe ſubtile doctors probably looked upon with a ſecret contempt.

The ſtate of Chriſtian morality.

X. Both the ſchool-men and Myſtics of this century treated, in their writings, of the obligations of morality, the duties of the Chriſtian life, and of the means that were moſt adapted to preſerve or deliver the ſoul from the ſervitude and contagion of vice; but their methods of handling theſe important ſubjects were, as may be eaſily conceived, entirely different. We may form an idea of myſtical morality from the *Obſervations of* GEORGE PACHYMERES, *upon the writings of Dionyſius*, and from the *Spiritual Inſtitutes*, or *Abridgment*

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ment of Myſtic Theology, compoſed by HUMBERT DE ROMANIS, of which productions the firſt was written in Greek, and the ſecond in Latin. As to the ſcholaſtic moraliſts, they were principally employed in defining the nature of virtue and vice in general, and the characters of the various virtues and vices in particular; and hence the prodigious number of *ſums*, or ſyſtematical collections, *of virtues and vices*, that appeared in this century. The ſchool-men divided the virtues into two claſſes. The firſt comprehended the *moral* virtues, which differ, in no reſpect, from thoſe which ARISTOTLE recommended to his diſciples. The ſecond contained the theological virtues, which, in conſequence of what St. PAUL ſays, 1 *Corinth.* xiii. 13. they made to conſiſt in *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity*. In explaining and illuſtrating the nature of the virtues comprehended in theſe two claſſes, they ſeemed rather to have in view the pleaſure of diſputing than the deſign of inſtructing; and they exhauſted all their ſubtilty in reſolving difficulties which were of their own creation. THOMAS AQUINAS ſhone forth as a ſtar of the firſt magnitude, though, like the others, he was often covered with impenetrable fogs. The ſecond part of his famous *ſum* was wholly employed in laying down the principles of morality, and in deducing and illuſtrating the various duties that reſult from them; and this part of his learned labours has had the honour and misfortune of paſſing through the hands of a truly prodigious number of commentators.

An important remark relating to the manner of treating morals in this century.

XI. It is abſolutely neceſſary to obſerve here, that the moral writers of this and the following centuries muſt be read with the utmoſt caution; and with a perpetual attention to this circumſtance, that, though they employ the ſame terms that we find in the ſacred writings, yet they uſe them in a quite different ſenſe from that which they

they bear in these divine books. They speak of justice, charity, faith, and holiness; but as these virtues are illustrated by these quibbling sophists, they differ much from the amiable and sublime duties, which CHRIST and his disciples have inculcated under the same denominations. A single example will be sufficient to render this evident beyond contradiction. A *pious* and *holy* man, according to the sense annexed by our Saviour to these terms, is one, who consecrates his affections and actions to the service of the Supreme Being, and accounts it his highest honour and felicity, as well as his indispensable duty, to obey his laws. But, in the style of the moral writers of this age, he was a *pious* and *holy* man, who deprived himself of his possessions to enrich the priesthood, to build churches, and found monasteries, and whose faith and obedience were so implicitly enslaved to the imperious dictates of the Roman pontifs, that he believed and acted without examination, as these lordly directors thought proper to prescribe. Nor were the ideas which these writers entertained concerning *justice*, at all conformable to the nature of that virtue, as it is described in the holy scriptures, since in their opinion it was lawful to injure, revile, torment, persecute, and even to put to death, a *Heretic*, i. e. any person who refused to obey blindly the decrees of the pontifs, or to believe all the absurdities which they imposed upon the credulity of the multitude.

The state of polemic or controversial theology.

XII. The writers of controversy in this century were more numerous than respectable. NICETAS ACOMINATUS, who made a considerable figure among the Greeks, attacked all the different sects in his work entitled, *The Treasure of the Orthodox Faith*; but he combated after the Grecian manner, and defended the cause he undertook to maintain, rather by the decrees of councils,

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councils, and the decisions of the fathers, than by the dictates of reason and the authority of scripture. RAYMOND of PENNAFORT was one of the first among the Latins, who abandoned the unchristian method of converting infidels by the force of arms and the terrors of capital punishments, and who undertook to vanquish the Jews and Saracens by reason and argument [*d*]. This engaged in the same controversy a considerable number of able disputants, who were acquainted with the Hebrew and Arabic languages; among whom RAYMOND MARTIN, the celebrated author of the *Sword of Faith* [*e*], is unquestionably entitled to the first rank. THOMAS AQUINAS also appeared with dignity among the Christian champions; and his book against the Gentiles [*f*] is far from being contemptible: nor ought we to omit mentioning a learned work of ALAN DE L'ISLE, which was designed to refute the objections of both Jews and Pagans [*g*]. The writers, who handled other more particular branches of theological controversy, were far inferior to these now mentioned in genius and abilities; and their works seemed less calculated to promote the truth, than to render their adversaries odious.

The controversy between the Greeks and Latins continued.

XIII. The grand controversy between the Greek and Latin church was still carried on; and all the efforts that were made, during this century, to bring it to a conclusion, one way or another, proved ineffectual. GREGORY IX. employed the ministry of the Franciscan monks to bring about an accommodation with the Greeks, and

[*d*] ECHARD et QUETIF in *Scriptoribus Ordinis Prædicator.* tom. i. § xiii. p. 106.

[*e*] BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article MARTINI.—PAULI COLOMESII *Hispania Orient.* p. 209.

[*f*] Jo. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Delect. Argumentorum et Scriptor. pro veritate Relig. Christian.* p. 270.

[*g*] *Liber contra Judæos et Paganos.*

pursued

purſued with zeal this laudable purpoſe from the year 1232 to the end of his pontificate, but without the leaſt appearance of ſucceſs [*b*]. INNOCENT IV. embarked in the ſame undertaking in the year 1247, and ſent JOHN of PARMA, with other Franciſcan friars, to *Nice* for the ſame purpoſe; while the Grecian pontif came in perſon to *Rome*, and was declared legate of the *Apoſtolic ſee* [*i*]. But theſe previous acts of mutual civility and reſpect, which could not but excite the hopes of ſuch as longed for the concluſion of theſe unhappy diſcords, did not terminate in the reconciliation that was expected. New incidents aroſe to blaſt the influence of theſe ſalutary meaſures, and the flame of diſſenſion recovered new vigour. Under the pontificate of URBAN IV., the aſpect of things changed for the better, and the negociations for peace were renewed with ſuch ſucceſs, as promiſed a ſpeedy concluſion of theſe unhappy diviſions. For MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS had no ſooner driven the Latins out of *Conſtantinople*, than he ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome* to declare his pacific intentions, that thus he might eſtabliſh his diſputed dominion, and gain over the Roman pontif to his ſide [*k*]. But, during the courſe of theſe negociations, URBAN's death left matters unfiniſhed, and ſuſpended once more the hopes and expectations of the public. Under the pontificate of GREGORY X., propoſals of peace were again made by the ſame emperor, who, after much oppoſition from his own clergy, ſent ambaſſadors to the council that was aſſembled at *Lions*

[*b*] See WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ii. p. 279. 296. & ECHARD, *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 103. 911.—Add to theſe MATTH. PARIS, *Hiſtor. Major.* p. 386.

[*i*] See BALUZII *Miſcellan.* tom. vii. p. 370. 388. 393. 397. 497. 498.—WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. & iv. p. 37.

[*k*] WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 181. 201. 223. 269. 303.

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in the year 1274 [*l*], and there, with the ſolemn conſent of JOHN VECCUS, patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and ſeveral Greek biſhops, publicly agreed to the terms of accommodation propoſed by the Roman pontif [*m*]. This re-union, however, was not durable; for the ſituation of affairs in *Greece* and *Italy* being changed ſome years after this convention, and that in ſuch a manner as to deliver the former from all apprehenſions of a Latin invaſion, ANDRONICUS, the ſon of MICHAEL, aſſembled a council at *Conſtantinople* in the palace of *Blachernæ*, A. D. 1284, in which, by a ſolemn decree, this ignominious treaty was declared entirely null, and the famous VECCUS, by whoſe perſuaſion and authority it had been concluded, was ſent into exile [*n*]. This reſolute meaſure, as may well be imagined, rendered the diviſions more violent than they had been before the treaty now mentioned; and it was alſo followed by an open ſchiſm, and by the moſt unhappy diſcords among the Grecian clergy.

[*l*] See WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 343. 371. tom. v. p. 9. 29. 62.—COLONIA, *Hiſt. Litter. de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 284.

☞ [*m*] JOSEPH, and not VECCUS, was patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, when this treaty was concluded. The former had bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath never to conſent to a reconciliation between the Greek and Latin churches; for which reaſon the emperor, when he ſent his ambaſſadors to *Lions*, propoſed to JOSEPH the following alternative: that, if they ſucceeded in bringing about an accommodation, he ſhould renounce his patriarchal dignity; but, if they failed in their attempt, he was to remain patriarch, adviſing him, at the ſame time, to retire to a convent, until the matter was decided. The ambaſſador ſucceeded, JOSEPH was depoſed, and VECCUS elected in his place; when, and not before, this latter ratified the treaty in queſtion by his ſolemn conſent to the ignominious article of *ſupremacy* and *pre-eminence*, which it confirmed to the Roman pontif.

[*n*] LEO ALLATIUS *de perpetua conſenſione Eccleſ. Orient. et Occident.* lib. ii. c. xv, xvi. p. 727.—FRED. SPANHEIM *de perpet. diſſenſione Græcor. et Latin.* tom. ii. opp. p. 488, &c.

XIV.

The disputes concerning the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist continued.

XIV. We pass over several controversies of a more private kind and of inferior moment, which have nothing in their nature or circumstances that deserves the attention of the curious; but we must not forget to observe that the grand dispute concerning the eucharist was still continued in this century, not only in *France*, but also in several other places. For though INNOCENT III. had, in the council held at the Lateran in the year 1215, presumptuously taken upon him to place *Transubstantiation* among the avowed doctrines of the Latin church, yet the authority of this decree was called in question by many, and several divines had the courage to maintain the probability of the opinions that were opposed to that monstrous doctrine. Those who, adopting the sentiments of BERENGER, considered the bread and wine in no other light, than as signs or symbols of the body and blood of CHRIST, did not venture either to defend or profess this opinion in a public manner. Many, also, thought it sufficient to acknowledge, what was termed a *real presence*, though they explained the *manner* of this presence quite otherwise than the doctrine of INNOCENT had defined it [*o*]. Among these JOHN, surnamed PUNGENS ASINUS, a subtile doctor of the university of *Paris*, acquired an eminent and distinguished name, and, without incurring the censure of his superiors, substituted *Consubstantiation* in the place of *Transubstantiation* towards the conclusion of this century [*p*].

[*o*] PET. ALLIX. *Præf. ad F. Johannis Determinat. de Sacramento Altaris*, published at *London* in 8vo, in the year 1686.

[*p*] The book of this celebrated doctor was published by the learned ALLIX abovementioned. See BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 576.—DACHERII *Spicileg. Veter. Scriptor.* tom. iii. p. 58.—ECHARDI *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 561.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies uſed in the Church during this century.

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Rites multiplied.

I. IT would be endleſs to enumerate the additions that were made in this century to the external part of divine worſhip, in order to increaſe its pomp and render it more ſtriking. Theſe additions were owing partly to the public edicts of the Roman pontifs, and partly to the private injunctions of the Sacerdotal and Monaſtic orders, who ſhared the veneration which was excited in the multitude by the ſplendor and magnificence of this religious ſpectacle. Inſtead of mentioning theſe additions, we ſhall only obſerve in general, that religion was now become a ſort of a raree-ſhow in the hands of the rulers of the church, who, to render its impreſſions more deep and laſting, thought proper to exhibit it in a ſtriking manner to the external ſenſes. For this purpoſe, at certain ſtated times, and eſpecially upon the more illuſtrious feſtivals, the miraculous diſpenſations of the divine wiſdom in favour of the church, and the more remarkable events in the Chriſtian hiſtory, were repreſented under certain allegorical figures and images, or rather in a kind of mimic ſhew [*q*]. But theſe ſcenic repreſentations, in which there was a motley mixture of mirth and gravity, theſe tragi-comical ſpectacles, though they amuſed and affected in a certain manner the gazing populace, were highly detrimental, inſtead of being uſeful, to the cauſe of religion; they degraded its dignity, and furniſhed abundant matter of laughter to its enemies.

[*q*] It is probable enough, that this licentious cuſtom of exhibiting mimic repreſentations of religious objects derived its origin from the Mendicant friars.

II. It will not appear ſurpriſing that the bread, conſecrated in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, became the object of religious worſhip; for this was the natural conſequence of the monſtrous doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*. But the effects of that impious and ridiculous doctrine did not end here; it produced all that train of ceremonies and inſtitutions that are ſtill uſed in the church of *Rome* in honour of that *deified* bread, as they blaſphemouſly call it. Hence thoſe rich and ſplendid receptacles, that were formed for the reſidence of God under this new ſhape [*r*], and the lamps and other precious ornaments that were deſigned to beautify this habitation of the Deity. And hence the cuſtom that ſtill prevails, of carrying about this *divine bread* in ſolemn pomp through the public ſtreets, when it is to be adminiſtered to ſick or dying perſons, with many other ceremonies of a like nature, which are diſhonourable to religion, and opprobrious to humanity. But that which gave the finiſhing touch to this heap of abſurdities, and diſplayed ſuperſtition in its higheſt extravagance, was the inſtitution of the celebrated annual *Feſtival of the Holy Sacrament*, or, as it is ſometimes called, of the *body of Chriſt*, whoſe origin was as follows: A certain devout woman, whoſe name was JULIANA, and who lived at *Liege*, declared that ſhe had received a revelation from

The rites inſtituted in relation to the euchariſt.

☞ [*r*] This blaſphemous language, which Dr. MOSHEIM is obliged to uſe in repreſenting the abſurdities of the doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, is nothing in compariſon with the impious figures that were made uſe of by the abettors of that monſtrous tenet to accomodate it, in ſome meaſure, to the capacities of the multitude. We need not wonder, that the Pagans metamorphoſed their JUPITER into a *bull*, a *ſwan*, and other ſuch figures, when we ſee the rulers of the Chriſtian church transforming the Son of God into a piece of bread; a transformation ſo vile, and, even were it not vile, ſo uſeleſs, that it is inconceivable how it could enter into the head of any mortal, and equally ſo, how the biſhops of *Rome* could confide ſo far in the credulity of the people as to riſk their authority by propagating ſuch a doctrine,

heaven, intimating to her, that it was the will of God, that a peculiar feſtival ſhould be annually obſerved in honour of the *holy ſacrament*, or rather of the *real preſence* of CHRIST's body in that ſacred inſtitution. Few gave attention or credit to this pretended viſion, whoſe circumſtances were extremely equivocal and abſurd [*s*], and which would have come to nothing, had it not been ſupported by ROBERT, biſhop of *Liege*, who, in the year 1246, publiſhed an order for the celebration of this feſtival throughout the whole province, notwithſtanding the oppoſition which he knew would be made to a propoſal founded only on an idle dream. After the death of JULIANA, one of her friends and companions, whoſe name was EVE, took up her cauſe with uncommon zeal, and had credit enough with URBAN IV. to engage him to publiſh, in the year 1264, a ſolemn edict, by which the feſtival in queſtion was impoſed upon all the Chriſtian churches without exception. This edict, however, did not produce its full and proper effect, on account of the death of the pontif, which happened ſoon after its publication; ſo that the feſtival under conſideration was not celebrated univerſally throughout the Latin churches before the pontificate of CLEMENT V. [*t*], who, in the council, held at *Vienne* in *France*, in the year 1311, con-

☞ [*s*] This fanatical woman declared, that as often as ſhe addreſſed herſelf to God, or to the ſaints in prayer, ſhe ſaw the full moon with a ſmall defect or breach in it; and that, having long ſtudied to find out the ſignification of this ſtrange appearance, ſhe was *inwardly* informed by the ſpirit, that the *moon* ſignified the *church*, and that the defect or breach was the want of an annual feſtival in honour of the holy ſacrament.

[*t*] See BARTHOL. FISEN. *Origo prima Feſti Corporis* CHRISTI *ex Viſo Sanctæ Virginis Julianæ oblato*, publiſhed in 8vo at *Liege*, in the year 1619.—DALLÆUS, *De cultus religioſi objecto*, p. 287.—*Acta Sanctor. April.* tom. i. p. 437. 903.—And above all BENEDICT. *Pont. Max. de Feſtis* CHRISTI *et* MARIÆ, lib. i. c. xiii. p. 360. tom. x. opp.

 firmed

firmed the edict of URBAN, and thus, in ſpite of all oppoſition, eſtabliſhed a feſtival, which contributed more to render the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation agreeable to the people, than the decree of the council of the Lateran under INNOCENT III., or than all the exhortations of his lordly ſucceſſors.

The year of jubilee added to the rites of the church.

III. About the concluſion of this century, BONIFACE VIII. added to the public rites and ceremonies of the church, the famous jubilee, which is ſtill celebrated at *Rome*, at a ſtated period, with the utmoſt profuſion of pomp and magnificence. In the year 1299, a rumour was ſpread abroad among the inhabitants of that city, that all ſuch as viſited, within the limits of the following year, the church of *St. Peter*, ſhould obtain the remiſſion of all their ſins, and that this privilege was to be annexed to the performance of the ſame ſervice once every hundred years. BONIFACE no ſooner heard of this, than he ordered ſtrict enquiry to be made concerning the author and the foundation of this report, and the reſult of this inquiry was anſwerable to his views; for he was aſſured, by many teſtimonies worthy of credit [*u*], (ſay the Roman-catholic

☞ [*u*] Theſe *Teſtimonies worthy of credit* have never been produced by the Romiſh writers, unleſs we rank in that claſs, that of an old man, who had completed his 107th year, and who, being brought before BONIFACE VIII., declared (if we may believe the Abbé FLEURY) that his father, who was a common labourer, had aſſiſted at the celebration of a jubilee, an hundred years before that time. See FLEURY *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* towards the end of the twelfth century.—It is, however, a very unaccountable thing, if the inſtitution of the jubilee year was not the invention of BONIFACE, that there ſhould be neither in the acts of councils, nor in the records of hiſtory, nor in the writings of the learned, any trace, or the leaſt mention of its celebration before the year 1300; this, with other reaſons of an irreſiſtible evidence, have perſuaded ſome Roman-catholic writers to conſider the inſtitution of the jubilee year, as the invention of this pontif, who, to render it more reſpectable, pretended it was of a much earlier date. See GHILEN. & VICTORELL. apud BONANNI *Numiſm. Pontif. Rom.* tom. i. p. 22, 23.

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historians) that, from the remoteſt antiquity, this important privilege of remiſſion and indulgence was to be obtained by the ſervices above-mentioned. No ſooner had the pontif received this information than he iſſued out an epiſtolary mandate addreſſed to all Chriſtians, in which he enacted it as a ſolemn law of the church, that thoſe who, every hundredth or jubilee year, confeſſed their ſins, and viſited, with ſentiments of contrition and repentance, the churches of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* at *Rome*, ſhould obtain thereby the entire remiſſion of their various offences [*w*]. The ſucceſſors of BONIFACE were not ſatisfied with adding a multitude of new rites and inventions, by way of ornaments, to this ſuperſtitious inſtitution; but, finding by experience that it added to the luſtre and augmented the revenues of the Roman church, they rendered its return more frequent, and fixed its celebration to every five and twentieth year [*x*].

CHAP.

[*w*] So the matter is related by JAMES CAJETAN, cardinal of *St. George*, and nephew to BONIFACE, in his *Relatio de Centeſimo ſeu Jubilæo anno*, which is publiſhed in his *Magna Bibliotheca Vet. Patrum*, tom. vi. p. 426. 440. and in the *Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum*, tom. xxv. p. 267. Nor is there any reaſon to believe that this account is erroneous and falſe, nor that BONIFACE acted the part of an impoſtor, from a principle of avarice, upon this occaſion.

☞ *N. B.* It is not without aſtoniſhment, that we hear Dr. MOSHEIM deciding in this manner with reſpect to the *good faith* of BONIFACE and the *relation* of his nephew. The character of that wicked and ambitious pontif is well known, and the *relation* of the cardinal of *St. George* has been proved to be the moſt ridiculous, fabulous, motley piece of ſtuff that ever uſurped the title of an hiſtorical record. See the excellent *Lettres de M. Chais ſur les Jubilés* (that are mentioned more at large in the following note), tom. i. p. 53.

[*x*] The various writers, who have treated of the inſtitution of the Roman jubilee, are enumerated by Jo. ALBERT FABRICIUS in his *Bibliogr. Antiquar.* p. 316. Among the Authors that may be added to this liſt, there is one whom we think it neceſſary to mention particularly, *viz.* the Reverend CHARLES CHAIS,

CHAP. V.

Concerning the diviſions and hereſies that troubled the Church during this century.

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I. WE have no account of any new ſects that aroſe among the Greeks during this century. Thoſe of the Neſtorians and Jacobites, which were ſettled in the remoter regions of the eaſt,

Neſtorians and Jacobites.

CHAIS, whoſe *Lettres Hiſtoriques et Dogmatiques ſur les Jubilés, et des Indulgences,* were publiſhed at the *Hague* in three volumes 8vo. in the year 1751.

☞ Theſe letters of Mr. CHAIS (miniſter of the French church at the *Hague*, and well known in the Republic of Letters) contain the moſt full and accurate account that has been ever given of the inſtitution of the jubilee, and of the riſe, progreſs, abuſes, and enormities of the infamous traffic of indulgences. This account is judiciouſly collected from the beſt authors of antiquity, and from ſeveral curious records that have eſcaped the reſearches of other writers; it is alſo interſperſed with curious, and ſometimes ludicrous anecdotes, that render the work equally productive of entertainment and inſtruction. In the firſt volume of theſe Letters, the learned author lays open the nature and origin of the inſtitution of the jubilee; he proves it to have been a human invention, which owed its *riſe* to the avarice and ambition of the popes, and its credit to the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the people, and whoſe celebration was abſolutely unknown before the thirteenth century, which is the true date of its origin. He takes notice of the various changes it underwent with reſpect to the time of its celebration, the various colours with which the ambitious pontifs covered *it* in order to render *it* reſpectable and alluring in the eyes of the multitude; and expoſes theſe illuſions by many convincing arguments, whoſe gravity is ſeaſoned with an agreeable and temperate mixture of decent raillery. He proves, with the utmoſt evidence, that the papal jubilee is an imitation of the *Secular Games* that were celebrated with ſuch pomp in Pagan *Rome*. He points out the groſs contradictions that reign in the *bulls* of the different popes, with reſpect to the nature of this inſtitution and the time of its celebration. Nor does he paſs over in ſilence the infamous traffic of indulgences, the worldly pomp and ſplendor, the crimes, debaucheries, and diſorders of every kind, that were obſervable at the return of each jubilee year. He lays alſo before the reader an hiſtorical

view

eaſt, and who equalled the Greeks in their averſion to the rites and juriſdiction of the Latin church, were frequently ſolicited, by the miniſtry of Franciſcan and Dominican miſſionaries ſent among them by the popes, to receive the Roman yoke. In the year 1246, INNOCENT IV. uſed his utmoſt efforts to bring both theſe ſects under his dominion; and in the year 1278, terms of accommodation were propoſed by NICOLAS IV. to the Neſtorians, and particularly to that branch of the ſect which reſided in the Northern parts of *Aſia* [*y*]. The leading men both among the Neſtorians and Jacobites ſeemed to give ear to the propoſals that were made to them, and were by no means averſe to a reconciliation with the church of *Rome*; but the proſpect of peace ſoon vaniſhed, and a variety of cauſes concurred to prolong the rupture.

The conteſts of the Roman pontifs with various ſects, whom they branded indiſcriminately with the name of Heretics.

II. During the whole courſe of this century, the Roman pontifs carried on the moſt barbarous and inhuman perſecution againſt thoſe whom they branded with the denomination of *heretics*; i. e. againſt all thoſe who called their pretended authority and juriſdiction in queſtion, or taught doctrines different from thoſe which were adopted and propagated by the church of *Rome*. For the

view of all the jubilees that were celebrated from the pontificate of BONIFACE VIII., in the year 1300, to that of BENEDICT XIV., in 1750, with an entertaining account of the moſt remarkable adventures that happened among the pilgrims who repaired to *Rome* on thoſe occaſions. The ſecond and third volumes of theſe intereſting Letters treat of the *indulgences* that are adminiſtered in the church of *Rome*. The reader will find here their nature and origin explained, the doctrine of the Roman-catholic divines relating to them ſtated and refuted, the hiſtory of this impious traffic accurately laid down, and its enormities and pernicious effects circumſtantially expoſed with learning, perſpicuity, and candour.

[*y*] ODOR. RENALDUS, *Annal. Eccleſ.* tom. xiii. *ad A.* 1247. § xxxii. & tom. xv. *ad A.* 1303. § xxii. & *ad A.* 1304. § xxiii.—MATTH. PARIS, *Hiſt. Major.* p. 372.

ſects

ſects of the *Catharists*, *Waldenſes*, *Petrobruſſians*, &c. gathered ſtrength from day to day, ſpread imperceptibly throughout all *Europe*, aſſembled numerous congregations in *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, and formed by degrees ſuch a powerful party as rendered them formidable to the Roman pontifs, and menaced the papal juriſdiction with a fatal revolution. To the ancient ſects new factions were added, which, though they differed from each other in various reſpects, yet were all unanimouſly agreed in this one point, *viz.* "That the public and eſtabliſhed religion "was a motley ſyſtem of errors and ſuperſtition; "and that the dominion which the popes had "uſurped over Chriſtians, as alſo the authority "they exerciſed in religious matters, were un-"lawful and tyrannical." Such were the notions propagated by the ſectaries, who refuted the ſuperſtitions and impoſtures of the times by arguments drawn from the holy ſcriptures, and whoſe declamations againſt the power, the opulence, and the vices of the pontifs and clergy were extremely agreeable to many princes and civil magiſtrates, who groaned under the uſurpations of the ſacred order. The pontifs, therefore, conſidered themſelves as obliged to have recourſe to new and extraordinary methods of defeating and ſubduing enemies, who, both by their number and their rank, were every way proper to fill them with terror.

The riſe of the inquiſition in *Narbonne Gaul*.

III. The number of theſe diſſenters from the church of *Rome* was no where greater than in *Narbonne Gaul* [z], and the countries adjacent, where they were received and protected, in a ſingular manner, by RAYMOND VI., earl of *Tholouſe*, and other perſons of the higheſt diſtinction; and

[z] That part of *France* which, in ancient times, comprehended the provinces of *Savoy*, *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, and *Languedoc*.

where

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where the biſhops, either through humanity or indolence, were ſo negligent and remiſs in the proſecution of heretics, that the latter, laying aſide all their fears, formed ſettlements, and multiplied prodigiouſly from day to day. INNOCENT III. was ſoon informed of all theſe proceedings; and about the commencement of this century ſent legates extraordinary into the ſouthern provinces of *France* to do what the biſhops had left undone, and to extirpate hereſy, in all its various forms and modifications, without being at all ſcrupulous in uſing ſuch methods as might be neceſſary to effect this ſalutary purpoſe. The perſons charged with this ghoſtly commiſſion were RAINIER [*a*], a Ciſtertian monk, PIERRE DE CASTELNAU [*b*], archdeacon of *Maguelonne*, who became alſo afterwards a Ciſtertian friar. Theſe eminent miſſionaries were followed by ſeveral others, among whom was the famous Spaniard DOMINIC, founder of the order of preachers, who, returning from *Rome* in the year 1206, fell in with theſe delegates, embarked in their cauſe, and laboured both by his exhortations and actions in the extirpation of hereſy. Theſe ſpiritual champions, who engaged in this expedition upon the ſole authority of the pope, without either aſking the advice or demanding the ſuccours of the biſhops, and who inflicted capital puniſhment upon ſuch of the heretics as they could not convert by reaſon and argument, were diſtinguiſhed in common diſcourſe by the title of *Inquiſitors*, and from them the formidable and odious tribunal called the *Inquiſition* derived its original.

☞ [*a*] Inſtead of RAINIER, other hiſtorians mention one RAOUL, or RALPH, as the aſſociate of PIERRE DE CASTELNAU. See FLEURY, *Hiſtoire Eccleſ.* livr. lxxvi. § xii.

[*b*] The greateſt part of the Roman writers conſider PIERRE DE CASTELNAU as the firſt *Inquiſitor*. It will appear hereafter in what ſenſe this aſſertion may be admitted. For an account of this legate, ſee the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. *Martii*, p. 411.

IV.

The form of the inquiſition ſettled.

IV. When this new ſet of hereſy-hunters [c] had executed their commiſſion, and purged the provinces to which they were ſent of the greateſt part of the enemies of the Roman faith, the pontifs, were ſo ſenſible of their excellent ſervices, that they eſtabliſhed miſſionaries of a like nature, or, in other words, placed *Inquiſitors* in almoſt every city, whoſe inhabitants had the misfortune to be ſuſpected of hereſy, notwithſtanding the reluctance which the people ſhewed to this new inſtitution, and the violence with which they frequently expelled, and ſometimes maſſacred, theſe bloody officers of the popiſh hierarchy. The council held at *Tholouſe*, in the year 1229, by ROMANUS, cardinal of *St. Angelo*, and pope's legate, went ſtill farther, and erected in every city a *council of inquiſitors conſiſting of one prieſt and three laymen* [d]. This inſtitution was, however, ſurperſeded, in the year 1233, by GREGORY IX., who intruſted the Dominicans, or preaching friars, with the important commiſſion of diſcovering and bringing to judgment the heretics that were lurking in *France*, and in a formal epiſtle diſcharged the biſhops from the burthen of that painful office [e]. Immediately after this, the biſhop of *Tournay*, who was the pope's legate in *France*, began to execute this new reſolution, by appointing PIERRE CELLAN, and GUILLAUME

☞ [c] The term of Hereſy-hunters, for which the tranſlator is reſponſible, will not ſeem abſurd, when it is known, that the miſſionaries, who were ſent into the provinces of *France* to extirpate herſy, and the inquiſitors who ſucceeded them, were bound by an oath, not only to ſeek for the heretics in towns, houſes, cellars, and other lurking-places, but alſo in woods, caves, fields, &c.

[d] See HARDUINI *Concilia*, tom. vii. p. 175.

[e] BERNHARD GUIDONIS *in Chronico Pontif. MS. ap.* JAC. ECHARDUM *Scriptor Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 88.—PERCINI *Hiſtoria Inquiſit. Tholoſanæ*, ſubjoined to his *Hiſtoria Conventus FF. Prædicat. Tholoſanæ*, 1693, in 8vo.—*Hiſtoire Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 394, 395.

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ARNAUD, *inquiſitors of heretical pravity at Tholouſe,* and afterwards proceeded in every city, where the Dominicans had a convent, to conſtitute officers of the ſame nature, choſen from among the monks of that celebrated order [*f*]. From this period we are to date the commencement of the dreadful tribunal of the *inquiſition*, which in this and the following ages ſubdued ſuch a prodigious multitude of heretics, part of whom were converted to the church by terror, and the reſt committed to the flames without mercy. For the Dominicans erected, firſt at *Tholouſe*, and afterwards at *Carcaſſone* and other places, a tremendous court, before which were ſummoned not only *heretics*, and perſons *ſuſpected of hereſy*, but likewiſe all who were accuſed of *magic*, *ſorcery*, *judaiſm*, *witchcraft*, and other crimes of that kind. This tribunal, in proceſs of time, was erected in the other countries of *Europe*, though not every where with the ſame ſucceſs [*g*].

V.

[*f*] ECHARD & PERCINUS *loc. citat.*

[*g*] The accounts we have here given of the firſt riſe of the *Inquiſition*, though founded upon the moſt unexceptionable teſtimonies and the moſt authentic records, are yet very different from thoſe that are to be found in moſt authors. Certain learned men tell us, that the *Tribunal of the Inquiſition* was the invention of St. DOMINIC, and was firſt erected by him in the city of *Tholouſe*: that he, of conſequence, was the firſt inquiſitor: that the year of its inſtitution is indeed uncertain; but that it was undoubtedly confirmed in a ſolemn manner, by INNOCENT III., in the council of the Lateran, in the year 1215. See Jo. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, p. 569.—PHIL. LIMBORCHI *Hiſtoria Inquiſit.* lib. i. c. x. p. 39. and the other writers mentioned by FABRICIUS. I will not affirm, that the writers who give this account of the matter have advanced all this without authority; but this I will venture to ſay, that the authors, whom they have taken for their guides, are not of the firſt rate in point of merit and credibility. LIMBORCH, whoſe *Hiſtory of the Inquiſition* is looked upon as a moſt important and capital work, is generally followed by modern writers in their accounts of that odious tribunal. But, however laudable that hiſtorian may have been in point of fidelity and diligence,

V. The method of proceeding in this court of inquiſition was at firſt ſimple, and almoſt in every reſpect ſimilar to that which was obſerved in the ordinary courts of juſtice [*b*]. But this ſimplicity was gradually changed by the Dominicans, to whom experience ſuggeſted ſeveral new methods of augmenting the pomp and majeſty of their ſpiritual tribunal, and who made ſuch alterations in the forms of proceedings, that the manner of

ligence, it is certain, that he was but little acquainted with the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the middle age; that he drew his materials, not from the true and original ſources, but from writers of a ſecond claſs, and thus has fallen, in the courſe of his hiſtory, into various miſtakes. His account of the origin of the inquiſition is undoubtedly falſe; nor does that which is given by many other writers approach nearer to the truth. The circumſtances of this account, which I have mentioned in the beginning of this note, are more eſpecially deſtitute of all foundation. Many of the Dominicans, who, in our times, have preſided in the court of inquiſition, and have extolled the ſanctity of that *pious* inſtitution, deny, at the ſame time, that DOMINIC was its founder, as alſo that he was the firſt inquiſitor, nay, that he was an inquiſitor at all. They go ſtill farther, and affirm, that the court of inquiſition was not erected during the life of St. DOMINIC. Nor is all this advanced inconſiderately, as every impartial inquirer into the proofs they allege will eaſily perceive. Nevertheleſs, the queſtion, Whether or not St. DOMINIC was an inquiſitor? ſeems to be merely a diſpute about words, and depends entirely upon the different ſignifications of which the term *inquiſitor* is ſuſceptible. That word, according to its original meaning, ſignified a perſon inveſted with the commiſſion and authority of the Roman pontif to extirpate hereſy and oppoſe its abettors, but not cloathed with any judicial power. But it ſoon acquired a different meaning, and ſignified a perſon appointed by the Roman pontif to proceed *judicially* againſt heretics and ſuch as were ſuſpected of hereſy, to pronounce ſentence according to their reſpective caſes, and to deliver over to the ſecular arm ſuch as perſiſted obſtinately in their errors. In this latter ſenſe DOMINIC was not an *inquiſitor*; ſince it is well known that there were no papal judges of this nature before the pontificate of GREGORY IX.; but he was undoubtedly an *inquiſitor* in the original ſenſe that was attached to that term.

[*b*] The records, publiſhed by the Benedictines in their *Hiſtoire Gener. de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 371. ſhew the ſimplicity that reigned in the proceedings of the inquiſition at its firſt inſtitution.

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taking cognizance of *heretical* cauſes became totally different from that which was uſual in civil affairs. Theſe friars were, to ſay the truth, entirely ignorant of judicial matters; nor were they acquainted with the procedures of any other tribunal, than that which was called, in the Roman church, the *Tribunal of penance*. It was therefore after this, that they modelled the new court of *Inquiſition*, as far as a reſemblance between the two was poſſible; and hence aroſe that ſtrange ſyſtem of *inquiſitorial* law, which, in many reſpects, is ſo contrary to the common feelings of humanity, and the plaineſt dictates of equity and juſtice. This is the important circumſtance by which we are enabled to account for the abſurd, imprudent, and iniquitous proceedings of the inquiſitors, againſt perſons that are accuſed of holding, what they call, heretical opinions.

The rights and privileges granted to the inquiſition.

VI. That nothing might be wanting to render this ſpiritual court formidable and tremendous, the Roman pontifs perſuaded the European princes, and more eſpecially the emperor FREDERIC II. and LEWIS IX. king of *France*, not only to enact the moſt barbarous laws againſt *heretics*, and to commit to the flames, by the miniſtry of public juſtice, thoſe who were pronounced *ſuch* by the *inquiſitors*, but alſo to maintain the inquiſitors in their office, and grant them their protection in the moſt open and ſolemn manner. The edicts to this purpoſe iſſued out by FREDERIC II. are well known; edicts every way proper to excite horror, and which rendered the moſt illuſtrious piety and virtue incapable of ſaving from the cruelleſt death ſuch as had the misfortune to be diſagreeable to the *inquiſitors* [*i*]. Theſe abominable laws were not, however,

[*i*] The law of the emperor FREDERIC, in relation to the inquiſitors, may be ſeen in LIMBORCH's *Hiſtory of the Inquiſition*,

ever, ſufficient to reſtrain the juſt indignation of the people againſt theſe inhuman judges, whoſe barbarity was accompanied with ſuperſtition and arrogance, with a ſpirit of ſuſpicion and perfidy, nay, even with temerity and imprudence. Accordingly they were inſulted by the multitude in many places, were driven, in an ignominious manner, out of ſome cities, and were put to death in others; and CONRAD of *Marpurg*, the firſt German inquiſitor, who derived his commiſſion from GREGORY IX., was one of the many victims that were ſacrificed upon this occaſion to the vengeance of the public [*k*], which his incredible barbarities had raiſed to a dreadful degree of vehemence and fury [*l*].

tion, as alſo in the *Epiſtles* of PIERRE DE VIGNES, and in BZOVIUS RAYNALDUS, *&c.* The edict of St. LEWIS, in favour of theſe ghoſtly judges, is generally known under the title of *Cupientes*; for ſo it is called by the French lawyers on account of its beginning with that word. It was iſſued out in the year 1229, as the Benedictine monks have proved ſufficiently in their *Hiſt. Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 378. 575. It is alſo publiſhed by CATELIUS, in his *Hiſtor. Comit. Toloſanor.* p. 340. and in many other authors. This edict is as ſevere and inhuman, to the full, as the laws of FREDERIC II. For a great part of the *ſanctity* of good king LEWIS conſiſted in his furious and implacable averſion to *heretics*, againſt whom he judged it more expedient to employ the influence of racks and gibbets, than the power of reaſon and argument. See DU FRESNE, *Vita Ludovici a Joinvillio ſcripta*, p. 11. 39.

[*k*] The life of this furious and celebrated inquiſitor has been compoſed from the moſt authentic records that are extant, and alſo from ſeveral valuable manuſcripts by the learned JOHN HERMAN SCHMINKIUS. See alſo WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ii. p. 151. 355. & ECHARD. *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 487.

☞ [*l*] The Abbé FLEURY acknowledges the brutal barbarity of this unrelenting inquiſitor, who, under the pretext of hereſy, not only committed to the flames a prodigious number of nobles, clerks, monks, hermits, and lay-perſons of all ranks, but moreover cauſed them to be put to death, the very ſame day they were accuſed, without appeal. See FLEURY, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* livr. lxxx. § xxiv.

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Severer methods are employed againſt the heretics.

VII. When INNOCENT III. perceived that the labours of the firſt *inquiſitors* were not immediately attended with ſuch abundant fruits as he had fondly expected, he addreſſed himſelf, in the year 1207, to PHILIP AUGUSTUS, king of *France*, and to the leading men of that nation, ſoliciting them by the alluring promiſe of the moſt ample *indulgences*, to extirpate all, whom he thought proper to call heretics, by fire and ſword [*m*]. This exhortation was repeated with new acceſſions of fervour and earneſtneſs the year following, when PIERRE DE CASTELNAU, the legate of this pontif, and his inquiſitor in *France*, was put to death by the patrons of the people, called heretics [*n*]. Not long after this, the Ciſtertian monks, in the name of this pope, proclaimed a cruſade againſt the heretics throughout the whole kingdom of *France*, and a ſtorm ſeemed to be gathering againſt them on all ſides: RAYMOND VI., earl of *Tholouſe*, in whoſe territories CASTELNAU had been maſſacred, was ſolemnly excommunicated, and, to deliver himſelf from this eccleſiaſtical malediction, changed ſides, and embarked in the cruſade now mentioned. In the year 1209, a formidable army of croſs-bearers commenced againſt the heretics, who were comprehended under the general denomination of *Albigenſes* [*o*], and

[*m*] INNOCENTII III. *Epiſtolæ, Lib.* x. *Epiſt.* 49.

[*n*] Id. ibid. *Lib.* xi. *Ep.* 26, 27, 28, 29.—*Acta Sanctor. Mart.* tom. i. p. 411.

[*o*] The term *Albigenſes* is uſed in two ſenſes, of which the one is general, and the other more confined. In its more general and extenſive ſenſe it comprehends all the various kinds of heretics who reſided at this time in *Narbonne-Gaul*, i. e. in the ſouthern parts of *France*. This appears from the following paſſage of PETRUS SARNENSIS, who, in the *Dedication of his Hiſtory of the Albigenſes to Innocent* III., expreſſes himſelf thus. *Toloſani et aliarum civitatum, et caſtrorum hæretici, et defenſores eorum generaliter Albigenſes vocantur.* The ſame author divides afterwards the *Albigenſes* into various ſects (*Cap.* ii. p. 3 & 8.) of

an open war which they carried on with the utmoſt exertions of cruelty, though with various ſucceſs, for ſeveral years. The chief director of this ghoſtly war was ARNALD, abbot of the Ciſtertians, and legate of the Roman pontif; and the commander in chief of the troops employed in this *noble* expedition was SIMON earl of *Montford.* RAYMOND VI., earl of *Tholouſe*, who, conſulting his ſafety rather than his conſcience, had engaged in the cruſade againſt the heretics, was obliged to change ſides, and to attack their perſecutors. For SIMON, who had embarked in this war, not ſo much from a principle of zeal for religion, or of averſion to the heretics, as from a deſire of augmenting his fortune, caſt a greedy eye upon the territories of RAYMOND; and his ſelfiſh views were ſeconded and accompliſhed by the court of *Rome.* After many battles, ſieges, and a multitude of other exploits conducted with the moſt intrepid courage and the moſt abominable barbarity, he received from the hands of INNOCENT III., at the council of the Lateran, A. D. 1215, the county of *Tholouſe* and the other lands, belonging to that earl, as a reward for his

of which he conſiders that of the *Waldenſes* as the leaſt pernicious. *Mali erant Waldenſes, ſed comparatione aliorum hæreticorum longe minus perverſi.* It was not, however, from the city of *Albigia*, or *Albi*, that the French heretics were comprehended under the general title of *Albigenſes*, but from another circumſtance, to wit, that the greateſt part of *Narbonne-Gaul* was, in this century, called *Albigenſium*, as the Benedictine monks have clearly demonſtrated in their *Hiſtoire Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. not. xiii. p. 552. The term *Albigenſes*, in its more confined ſenſe, was uſed to denote thoſe heretics who inclined towards the Manichæan ſyſtem, and who were otherwiſe known by the denominations of *Cathariſts*, *Publicans*, or *Paulicians*, and *Bulgarians*. This appears evidently from many inconteſtable authorities, and more eſpecially from the *Codex Inquiſitionis Toloſanæ*, publiſhed by LIMBORCH, in his *Hiſtory of the Inquiſition*, and in which the *Albigenſes* are carefully diſtinguiſhed from the other ſects that made a noiſe in this century.

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zeal in ſupporting the *cauſe of God* and of *the church*. About three years after this, he loſt his life at the ſiege of *Tholouſe*. RAYMOND, his valiant adverſary, died in the year 1222.

The fruitleſs oppoſition made by the earl of *Tholouſe* to the Roman pontif.

VIII. Thus were the two chiefs of this deplorable war taken off the ſcene; but this removal was far from extinguiſhing the infernal flame of perſecution on the ſide of the pontifs, or calming the reſtleſs ſpirit of faction on that of the pretended heretics. RAYMOND VII., earl of *Tholouſe*, and AMALRIC, earl of *Montford*, ſucceeded their fathers at the head of the contending parties, and carried on the war with the utmoſt vehemence, and with ſuch various ſucceſs as rendered the iſſue for ſome time doubtful. The former ſeemed at firſt more powerful than his adverſary, and the Roman pontif HONORIUS III., alarmed at the vigorous oppoſition he made to the orthodox legions, engaged LEWIS VIII., king of *France*, by the moſt pompous promiſes, to march in perſon with a formidable army againſt the enemies of the church. The obſequious monarch liſtened to the ſolicitations of the lordly pontif, and embarked with a conſiderable military force in the cauſe of the church, but did not live to reap the fruits of his zeal. His engagements, however, with the court of *Rome*, and his furious deſigns againſt the heretics, were executed with the greateſt alacrity and vigour by his ſon and ſucceſſor LEWIS the *Saint*; ſo that RAYMOND, preſſed on all ſides, was obliged, in the year 1229, to make peace upon the moſt diſadvantageous terms, even by making a ceſſion of the greateſt part of his territories to the French monarch, after having ſacrificed a conſiderable portion of them, as a peace-offering to the church of *Rome* [*p*]. This treaty of

☞ [*p*] It was in conſequence of this treaty (of which the articles were drawn up at *Meaux*, and afterwards confirmed at *Paris*,

of peace gave a mortal blow to the cauſe of hereſy, and diſperſed the champions that had appeared in its defence; the *inquiſition* was eſtabliſhed at *Tholouſe*, and the heretics were not only expoſed to the *pious* cruelties of LEWIS, but, what was ſtill more ſhocking, RAYMOND himſelf, who had formerly been their patron, became their perſecutor, and treated them upon all occaſions with the moſt inhuman ſeverity. It is true, this prince broke the engagements into which he had entered by the treaty above mentioned, and renewed the war againſt LEWIS and the inquiſitors, who abuſed their victory and the power they had acquired in the moſt odious manner. But this new effort, in favour of the heretics, was attended with little or no effect; and the unfortunate earl of *Tholouſe*, the laſt repreſentative of that noble and powerful houſe, dejected and exhauſted by the loſſes he had ſuſtained, and the perplexities in which he was involved, died, in the year 1249, without male iſſue. And thus ended a civil war, of which religion had been partly the cauſe, and partly the pretext, and which, in its conſequences, was highly profitable both to the kings of *France* and to the Roman pontifs [*q*].

IX.

Paris, in preſence of LEWIS) that the univerſity of *Tholouſe* was founded, RAYMOND having bound himſelf thereby to pay the ſum of 4000 ſilver marcs, in order to the ſupport of two profeſſors of divinity, two of canon law, two of grammar, and ſix of the liberal arts, during the ſpace of ten years. We muſt alſo obſerve, that what Dr. MOSHEIM ſays of the ceſſion that RAYMOND made of his lands is not ſufficiently clear and accurate. Theſe lands were not to be transferred till after his death, and they were to be transferred to the brother of LEWIS IX., who, according to the treaty, was to eſpouſe the daughter of RAYMOND. See FLEURY, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* liv. lxxix. § 50.

[*q*] Many writers both ancient and modern have related the circumſtances of this religious war, that was carried on againſt the earls of *Tholouſe* and their confederates, and alſo againſt the heretics, whoſe cauſe they maintained. But none of the hiſtorians, whom I have conſulted on this ſubject, have treated it

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The Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit.

IX. The severity which the court of *Rome* employed in the extirpation of heresy, and the formidable arguments of fire and sword, racks and gibbets, with which the popes and their creatures reasoned against the enemies of the church, were not sufficient to prevent the rise of new and most pernicious sects in several places. Many of these sects were inconsiderable in themselves, and transitory in their duration, while some of them made a noise in the world, and were suppressed with difficulty. Among the latter we may reckon that of the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*, which about this time gained ground secretly and imperceptibly in *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, and seduced into its bosom multitudes of persons of both sexes, by the striking appearance of piety that was observed in the conduct of the members that composed it. How far the councils of this century proceeded against this new sect, we can-

with that impartiality which is so essential to the merit of historical writing. The Protestant writers, among whom BASNAGE deserves an eminent rank, are too favourable to RAYMOND and the *Albigenses*; the Roman-catholic historians lean with still more partiality to the other side. Of these latter the most recent are BENEDICT, a Dominican monk, author of the *Histoire des Albigeois, des Vaudois, et de Barbets*, published at *Paris*, in 1691, in two volumes, 12mo.—J. BAPT. LANGLOIS, a jesuit, who composed the *Histoire des Croisades contre les Albigeois*, which was published in 12mo, at *Rouen*, in 1703, to which we must add, Jo. JAC. PERCINI *Monumenta Conventus Tolosani Ordinis FF. Prædicator. in quibus Historia hujus Conventus distribuitur, et refertur totius Albigensium facti narratio, Tolosæ*, 1693, *Fol.* These writers are chargeable with the greatest partiality and injustice in the reproaches and calumnies they throw out so liberally against the RAYMONDS and the Albigenses, while they disguise, with a perfidious dexterity, the barbarity of SIMON of *Montfort*, and the ambitious views of extending their dominions that engaged the kings of *France* to enter into this war. The most ample and accurate account of this expedition against the Heretics is that which is given by the learned Benedictines CLAUDE LE VIC and JOSEPH VAISSETTE, in their *Histoire Generale de Languedoc, Paris*, 1730, tom. iii. in which, however, there are several omissions, which render that valuable work defective.

not ſay with any certainty; becauſe we have upon record but a few of the decrees that were iſſued out upon that occaſion. Perhaps the obſcurity of the riſing faction ſkreened it, in a great meaſure, from public view. But this was not the caſe in the following age; the *Brethren* and *Siſters* above mentioned came forth from their retreats in proportion as their numbers increaſed; they drew upon them the eyes of the world, and particularly thoſe of the *inquiſitors*, who committed to the flames ſuch of theſe unhappy enthuſiaſts as fell into their hands; while the councils, held in *Germany* and other nations, loaded them with excommunications and damnatory edicts.

This new ſect took their denomination from the words of St. PAUL [*r*], and maintained that the true children of God were inveſted with the privilege of a full and perfect *freedom* from the juriſdiction of the *law* [*s*]. They were called, by the Germans and Flemiſh, *Beghards* and *Beguttes*, which, as we have ſeen already, was a name uſually given to thoſe who made an extraordinary profeſſion of piety and devotion. They

[*r*] *Romans* viii. 2. 14.

[*s*] The accounts we here give of theſe wretched Fanatics are, for the moſt part, taken from authentic records, which have not been as yet publiſhed, from the decrees of ſynods and councils held in *France* and *Germany*, from the *Diplomas* of the Roman pontifs, the ſentences pronounced by the inquiſitors, and the other ſources of information to which I have had acceſs. I have alſo a collection of extracts from certain books of theſe enthuſiaſts, and more eſpecially from that which treated of the *Nine ſpiritual rocks*, and which was in the higheſt eſteem among the *free brethren*, who conſidered it as a treaſure of divine wiſdom and doctrine. As I cannot expoſe here theſe records to the examination of the curious reader, I beg leave to refer him to a long and ample edict iſſued out againſt theſe *Brethren* by HENRY I., archbiſhop of *Cologn*, and publiſhed in the *Statuta Colonienſia*, *A.* 1554. p. 58. This edict is, in every reſpect, conformable to thoſe publiſhed on the ſame occaſion, at *Mentz*, *Aſchaffenburg*, *Paderborn*, *Beziers*, *Triers*, and other places.

received from others, the reproachful denomination of *Bicorni*, i. e. Ideots. In *France*, they were known by the appellation of *Beghins* and *Beghines*, while the multitude diſtinguiſhed them by that of *Turlupins*, the origin and reaſon of which title I have not been able to learn [*t*]. Nothing carried a more ſhocking air of lunacy and diſtraction than their external aſpect and manners. They ran from place to place cloathed in the moſt ſingular and fantaſtic apparel, and begged their bread with wild ſhouts and clamours, rejecting with horror every kind of induſtry and labour, as an obſtacle to divine contemplation, and to the aſcent of the ſoul towards the Father of ſpirits. In all their excurſions they were followed by women, with whom they lived in the moſt intimate familiarity [*u*]. They diſtributed among the people, books, which contained the ſubſtance of their doctrine, held nocturnal aſſemblies in places remote from public view, and ſeduced many from frequenting the ordinary inſtitutions of divine worſhip.

The myſtical doctrines of this ſect.

X. Theſe *brethren*, who gloried in the *freedom* which they pretended to have obtained, *through the ſpirit*, from the dominion and obligation of the *law*, adopted a certain rigid and fantaſtic ſyſtem of *Myſtic theology*, built upon pretended philoſophical principles, which carried a ſtriking reſemblance of the impious doctrines of the

[*t*] Many have written, but none with accuracy and preciſion, concerning the *Turlupins*. See BEAUSOBRE'S *Diſſertation ſur les Adamites*, part II. p. 384. where that learned author has fallen into ſeveral errors, as uſually happens to him when he treats ſubjects of this kind. I know not the origin of the word *Turlupin*, but I am able to demonſtrate by the moſt authentic records, that the perſons ſo called, who were burnt at *Paris* and in other parts of *France*, were no other than the *Brethren of the free ſpirit*, who were condemned by the Roman pontifs, and alſo by various councils.

[*u*] Hence they were called in *Germany*, *Schwſtriones*, as appears by the decrees of ſeveral councils.

Pantheiſts. For they held, "That all things "flowed *by emanation* from God, and were finally "to return to their divine ſource: that rational "ſouls were ſo many *portions* of the Supreme "Deity, and that the univerſe, conſidered as one "great whole, was God: that every man, by the "power of contemplation, and by calling off his "mind from ſenſible and terreſtrial objects, might "be united to the Deity in an ineffable manner, "and become one with the Source and Parent "of all things: and that they, who, by long and "aſſiduous meditation, had plunged themſelves, "as it were, into the *abyſs* of the Divinity, ac-"quired thereby a moſt glorious and ſublime "liberty, and were not only delivered from the "violence of ſinful luſts, but even from the com-"mon inſtincts of nature." From theſe and ſuch like doctrines, the *brethren* under conſideration drew this impious and horrid concluſion, "That the perſon who had aſcended to God in "this manner, and was abſorbed by contem-"plation in the abyſs of Deity, became thus a "part of the Godhead, commenced God, was the "*Son of God* in the ſame ſenſe and manner that "CHRIST was, and was thereby raiſed to a glo-"rious independence, and freed from the obli-"gation of all laws human and divine." It was in conſequence of all this, that they treated with contempt the ordinances of the goſpel, and every external act of religious worſhip, looking upon prayer, faſting, baptiſm, and the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, as the firſt elements of piety adapted to the ſtate and capacity of children, and as of no ſort of uſe to the *perfect man*, whom long meditation had raiſed above all external things, and carried into the boſom and eſſence of the Deity [*w*]. XI.

[*w*] It may not be improper to place here a certain number of ſentences tranſlated faithfully from ſeveral of the more ſecret books

XI. Among theſe Fanatics there were ſeveral perſons of eminent probity, who had entered into this ſect with the moſt upright intentions, and who extended that *liberty of the ſpirit*, which they looked upon as the privilege of true believers, no farther than to an exemption from the duties of external worſhip, and an immunity from the poſitive laws of the church. The whole of religion was placed by this claſs of men in internal devotion, and they treated with the utmoſt contempt the rules of monaſtic diſcipline, and all other ex-

Among theſe heretics there were ſome that diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their eminent probity, and others that were licentious in an infamous degree.

books of theſe Heretics. The following will be ſufficient to give the curious reader a full idea of their impiety.

Every pious and good man is the only begotten ſon of God, whom God engendered from all eternity: (for theſe Heretics maintained, that what the ſcriptures taught concerning the diſtinction of *Three Perſons* in the divine nature, is by no means to be underſtood literally, and therefore explained it according to the principles of their myſtical and fantaſtic ſyſtem).

All created things are non-entities or nothing: I do not ſay that they are ſmall or minute; but that they are abſolutely nothing.

There is in the ſoul of man ſomething that is neither created, nor ſuſceptible of creation, and that is, rationality, or the power of reaſoning.

God is neither good, nor better, nor beſt: whoſoever therefore calls the Deity good, does as fooliſhly as he who calls an object black, which he knows to be white.

God ſtill engenders his only begotten ſon, and begets ſtill the ſame ſon, whom he had begotten from eternity. For every operation of the Deity is uniform and one; and therefore he engenders his ſon without any diviſion.

What the ſcriptures ſay concerning Chriſt is true of every good, of every divine man. And every quality of the divine nature belongs equally to every perſon, whoſe piety is genuine and ſincere.

To theſe horrid paſſages we may add the following ſentences, in which, JOHN, biſhop of *Straſbourg*, (in an edict he publiſhed againſt the *Brethren of the free ſpirit, or Beghards*, in the year 1317, the Sunday before the feaſt of the aſſumption of the Virgin MARY) diſcovers farther the blaſphemous doctrine of this impious ſect. *Deus* (ſay theſe Heretics) *eſt formaliter omne quod eſt. Quilibet homo perfectus eſt Chriſtus per naturam. Homo perfectus eſt liber in totum, nec tenetur ad ſervandum præcepta eccleſiæ data à Deo. Multa ſunt poetica in evangelio, quæ non ſunt vera, et homines credere magis debent conceptibus ex anima ſua Deo juncta profectis, quam evangelio*, &c.

ternal

ternal rites and inſtitutions, as infinitely beneath the attention of the *perfect*. Nor were their exhortations and their examples without effect; for about the middle of this century they perſuaded a conſiderable number of monks and devout perſons, in *Swabia, to live without any rule, and to ſerve God in the liberty of the ſpirit, which was the moſt acceptable ſervice that could be preſented to the Deity* [x]. The inquiſitors, however, ſtopped theſe poor enthuſiaſts in the midſt of their career, and committed ſeveral of them to the flames, in which they expired, not only with the moſt unclouded ſerenity, but even with the moſt triumphant feelings of cheerfulneſs and joy.

But there were among theſe *Brethren of the free ſpirit* another claſs of Fanatics very different from theſe now mentioned, and much more extravagant, whoſe ſyſtem of religion was as dangerous, as it was ridiculous and abſurd, ſince it opened a door to the moſt licentious manners. Theſe wretched enthuſiaſts maintained, that, by continual contemplation, it was poſſible to eradicate all the inſtincts of nature out of the *heaven-born* mind, and to introduce into the ſoul a certain divine ſtupor, and holy apathy, which they looked upon as the great characteriſtics of Chriſtian perfection. The perſons who adopted theſe ſentiments, took ſtrange liberties in conſequence of their pretended ſanctity, and ſhewed, indeed, by their conduct, that they had little regard to external appearances; for they held their ſecret aſſemblies ſtark naked, and lay in the ſame beds with their ſpiritual ſiſters, or, indiſcriminately, with other women, without the ſmalleſt ſcruple or heſitation. This ſhocking violation of decency was a conſequence of their pernicious

[x] See MART. CRUSIUS, *Annal. Suevicorum*, part III. lib. ii. cap. xiv. *ad A.* 1261, p. 99. edit. *Vet.*—This author has taken his materials from *Felix Faber*, an impartial writer.

ſyſtem.

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ſyſtem. They looked upon decency and modeſty as marks of inward corruption, as the characters of a ſoul that was ſtill under the dominion of the ſenſual, animal, and laſcivious ſpirit, and that was not, as yet, re-united to the divine nature, its center and ſource. And they conſidered, as at a fatal diſtance from the Deity, all ſuch as either felt the carnal ſuggeſtions of nature, or were penetrated with warm emotions at the view or approach of perſons of a different ſex, or were incapable of vanquiſhing and ſuppreſſing the riſing fervor of luſt and intemperance [*y*].

There were, moreover, in this fanatical troop, certain enthuſiaſts, who far ſurpaſſed in impiety the two claſſes we have been now mentioning, who abuſed the ſyſtem and doctrines of the ſect, ſo as to draw from them an apology for all kinds

[*y*] Certain writers, whoſe principal zeal is employed in the defence of theſe heretics, and who have accuſtomed themſelves to entertain a high idea of the ſanctity of all thoſe who, in the middle age, ſeparated themſelves from the communion of the church of *Rome*, ſuſpect the inquiſitors of having attributed falſely theſe impious doctrines to the *Brethren of the free ſpirit*, with a view to blacken theſe pious men, and to render them odious. But this ſuſpicion is entirely groundleſs; and the account of this matter, which we have given in the text, is conformable to the ſtricteſt truth. The inquiſitors have been leſs fabulous in their accuſations of theſe heretics, than many are apt to imagine. They acknowledge that the *Beghards*, though deſtitute of ſhame, were not chargeable, generally ſpeaking, with a breach of the duties of chaſtity and abſtinence. They were indeed of opinion, that this firmneſs and inſenſibility of heart, which rendered them proof againſt female charms and deaf to the voice of nature, was a privilege granted them by the devil. For they adopted the opinion of honeſt NIEDER, (*Formicar.* lib. iii. cap. v. p. 346.) and affirmed, that it was in the power of that evil ſpirit to *render men cold*, and to extinguiſh the warm and laſcivious ſolicitations of nature; and that Satan wrought this miracle upon his friends and adherents, in order to procure them a high reputation of ſanctity, and make them appear ſuperior in virtue to the reſt of mankind. *Credo* (ſaith NIEDER, who was both a Dominican and an inquiſitor) *quoſdam ex eis dæmonis opere affectos fuiſſe, ne moverentur ad naturales actus incontinentiæ . . . . Facillimum enim eſt dæmonibus infrigidare.*

of

of wickedneſs, and who audaciouſly maintained, that the *divine man*, or the believer, who was intimately united to God, *could not ſin*, let his conduct be ever ſo horrible and atrocious. This execrable doctrine was not, indeed, explained in the ſame manner by all the *Brethren of the free ſpirit* that were ſo outrageous as to adopt it. Some held, that the motions and actions of the body had no relation at all to the ſoul, which, by its union with God, was blended with the divine nature: others fell into a notion infinitely injurious to the Supreme Being, and maintained, that the propenſities and paſſions that aroſe in the ſoul of the *divine man* after his union with the Deity, were the propenſities and affections of God himſelf, and were therefore, notwithſtanding their apparent deformity and oppoſition to the law, holy and good, ſeeing that the Supreme Being is infinitely exalted above all law and all obligation [z]. It is neceſſary to obſerve, before we leave this

[z] This account will be confirmed by the following paſſage faithfully tranſlated from the famous book of the *Nine Rocks*, written originally in German: *Moreover the divine man operates and engenders whatever the Deity operates and engenders. For in God he produced and formed the heavens and the earth. He is alſo the father of the eternal world. Neither could God produce any thing without this divine man, who is therefore obliged to render his will conformable to the will of God, that ſo whatſoever may be agreeable to the Deity, may be agreeable to him alſo. If therefore it be the will of God that I ſhould commit ſin, my will muſt be the ſame, and I muſt not even deſire to abſtain from ſin. This is true contrition. And although a man, who is well and truly united to God, may have committed a thouſand mortal ſins, he ought not even to wiſh that he had not committed them; nay, he ſhould rather die a thouſand deaths than omit one of theſe mortal ſins.* Hence the accuſation brought by the inquiſitors againſt this impious ſect, whom they reproach with maintaining that the *ſin of a man united to God, is not ſin, ſince God works in him and with him whatever he does.* HENRY SUSO, a Dominican monk, and one of the moſt celebrated Myſtic writers, compoſed, in the following century, another *Book concerning the Nine Rocks*, which is to be found in the edition of his works publiſhed by LAURENT. SURIUS.

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this ſubject, that flagitious and impious impoſtors mingled themſelves ſometimes with this ſect, and took the name of *Beghards*, that by a feigned piety they might impoſe upon the multitude, and deceive the ſimple into their ſnares [*a*].

XII.

SURIUS. But this book is entirely different from that which was in ſuch high eſteem among the *Beghards*, though it bears the ſame title. The latter is of much older date, and was in vogue in *Germany*, among the *Brethren of the free ſpirit*, long before SUSO was born. There fell ſome time ago into my hands an ancient manuſcript, compoſed in Alſace, during the fifteenth century, and containing an account of various *Revelations, and Viſions of that age*. In this manuſcript I found a piece entitled, *Declaratio Religioſi cujuſdam ſuper revelatione Carthuſiano cuidam de Eccleſiæ per gladium reformatione, Leodii, A.* 1453, *facta*; and almoſt in the beginning of this declaration the following paſſage relating to the *Book of the Nine Rocks*: *Homo quidam devotiſſimus, licet Laicus, Librum de novem Rupibus conſcripſit à Deo compulſus, ubi multa ad præſens pertinentia continentur de Eccleſiæ renovatione et prævia gravi perſecutione.* Theſe *Nine Rocks* ſignified, according to the fanatical doctrine of this wrong-headed ſect, the different ſteps by which the divine man aſcended to the Deity.

[*a*] The founder of this famous ſect, the place of its origin, and the preciſe date of its firſt appearance, are not known with any degree of certainty. I have actually in my poſſeſſion *Eighty-nine Sentences of the Beghards, vulgarly called Schweſtrones, but who ſtyle themſelves Brethren of the ſect of the Free Spirit and of voluntary Poverty, with a Refutation of the ſaid Sentences*, written at *Worms* towards the concluſion of this century by ſome one or other of the inquiſitors. The 79th of theſe ſentences runs thus: *To ſay that the truth is in* Rhetia, *is to fall into the hereſy of Donatus, who ſaid, that God was in* Africa, *and not elſewhere*. From theſe words it appears evident, that Rhetia *was the place where the church of the Brethren of the free ſpirit was fixed and eſtabliſhed*, and that from this province they paſſed into *Germany*. I am not however of opinion, that this ſect had its firſt riſe in that province; but am rather inclined to think, that *Italy* was its country, and that, being driven from thence, it took refuge in *Rhetia*. Nor is it at all improbable, that *Italy*, which ſaw ſo many religious factions ariſe in its boſom, was alſo the nurſing mother of this blaſphemous ſect. We ſhall be almoſt fully confirmed in this opinion when we conſider that, in a long letter from CLEMENT V. to RAIMIER biſhop of *Cromona* (publiſhed by ODOR. RAYNALDUS, *Annal*, tom. xv. *A.* 1311, n. 66. p. 90.) the zealous pontif exhorts that prelate to ſuppreſs and extirpate,

Amalric.

XII. The famous AMALRIC, native of *Bene*, and profeſſor of logic and theology at *Paris*, whoſe bones were dug up and publicly burnt in the year 1209, although he had abjured his errors before his death, and a conſiderable number of whoſe diſciples and followers were committed to the flames on account of their abſurd and pernicious doctrine, was, undoubtedly, of the ſame way of thinking with the ſect whoſe opinions we have been now conſidering [*b*]. For though the writers of this barbarous age have given very different and confuſed accounts of this man's opinions, and even attributed ſome doctrines to him which he never maintained, it is nevertheleſs certain, that he taught, that all things were the parts of one ſubſtance, or, in other words, that the univerſe was God, and that not only the *forms* of all things, but alſo their *matter* or ſubſtance, proceeded from the Deity, and muſt return to the ſource from whence they were derived [*c*]. From theſe abſurd and blaſphemous principles

tirpate, with all his might, the ſect of the Brethren of the free ſpirit, which was *ſettled in ſeveral parts of* Italy, *and particularly in the province of* Spoleto *and the countries adjacent*. Such are the terms of the pontif's letter; *in nonnullis Italiæ partibus, tam Spoletanæ provinciæ, quam circumjacentium regionum.*

[*b*] *This did not eſcape the notice of the enemies of the Beghards*, or *Brethren of the free ſpirit*, in *Germany*, much leſs that of the *Inquiſitors*, who, in their *Refutation of the* 89 *Sentences of the Beghards* mentioned in the preceding note, expreſs themſelves thus: (*Sententia* 68.) *Dicere quod omnis creatura eſt Deus, hæreſis Alexandri* eſt, qui dixit, materiam primam et Deum et Hominem, hoc eſt mentes, eſſe in ſubſtantia, quod poſtea* quidam David de Dinanto *ſequutus eſt, qui temporibus noſtris de hac hæreſi de Francia fugatus eſt, et punitus fuiſſet, ſi deprehenſus fuiſſet.*

☞ [*c*] The account given by FLEURY, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, of the opinions of AMALRIC, is very different from that which is here given by Dr. MOSHEIM. The *former* obſerves, that AMALRIC, or AMAURI, taught that *every Chriſ-*

* The perſon here mentioned is ALEXANDER, the Epicurean, of whom PLUTARCH ſpeaks in his *Sympoſium*.

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ciples he deduced that chimerical ſyſtem of fanatical devotion, which we have already expoſed to the view of the reader, pretended to demonſtrate the poſſibility of incorporating or tranſlating the human nature into the divine, and rejected all kinds of external worſhip, as inſignificant and uſeleſs. The diſciples of this enthuſiaſt were men of exemplary piety, were diſtinguiſhed by the gravity and auſterity of their lives and manners, and ſuffered death in the moſt dreadful forms with the utmoſt reſolution and conſtancy. One of the moſt eminent among theſe was DAVID of *Dinant*, a Pariſian doctor, who uſually expreſſed the fundamental principle of his maſter in the following propoſition: *God is the primary matter or ſubſtance of all things.* He compoſed a work entitled *Quaternarii*, with ſeveral other productions, which were chiefly deſigned to affect and gain the multitude: but, after all, was obliged to ſave himſelf by flight [*d*]. The biſhops, aſſembled in

tian was obliged to believe himſelf a member of Jeſus Chriſt, and that without this belief none could be ſaved, and he obſerves alſo, that his diſciples introduced errors ſtill more pernicious, ſuch as the following: "That the *power* of the *Father* had continued "only during the Moſaic diſpenſation, that of the *Son* 1200 "years after his entrance upon earth, and that, in the thirteenth "century, the *age of the Holy Spirit* commenced, in which the "ſacraments and all external worſhip were to be aboliſhed; that "there would be no reſurrection; that heaven and hell were "mere fictions;" and many more ſentiments of that nature, which, as the learned SPANHEIM † imagines, were falſely imputed to AMALRIC, in order to render his memory odious, becauſe he had oppoſed the worſhip of ſaints and images. See FLEURY, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* livr. lxxvi. § lix.—Dr. MOSHEIM looks upon AMALRIC to have been a Pantheiſt, and many men of eminent learning are of this opinion. See among others JOH. GERSON apud JAC. THOMASIUM, and alſo BRUCKER's *Hiſt. Philoſoph.* tom. iii. p. 688.

[*d*] See MARTENE, *Theſaur. Anecdotor.* tom. iv. p. 163. where there is an account of the hereſies, for which ſeveral prieſts were burnt at *Paris* in the year 1209.—NATAL. ALEXANDER, *Hiſt.*

† See SPANHEMII *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Sæc.* xxii. p. 1694.

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in council at *Paris* in the year 1209, conſidered the philoſophy of ARISTOTLE as the ſource of all theſe impious doctrines, and, on that account, prohibited the reading, or explaining, either in public, or private, the metaphyſical, and other productions of the Grecian ſage [*e*].

Joachim. Wilhelmina.

XIII. If we may depend upon the accounts given by certain writers, AMALRIC and his followers received with the utmoſt docility and faith the predictions, attributed to JOACHIM abbot of *Flora*, concerning the reformation that was ſoon to be brought about in the church by the power of the ſword, the approaching *Age of the Holy Ghoſt* that was to ſucceed thoſe of the Father and the Son, and other things of that nature, which raiſed the hopes and occupied the thoughts of the *Spiritual* Franciſcans. Whether theſe accounts may be depended upon or not, we ſhall not determine. To us they appear extremely doubtful. It is, however, true, that certain perſons were ſo far deluded by theſe pretended prophecies, as to form new ſects with a view to their accompliſhment, and to declare war againſt the eſtabliſhed church, its ſyſtem of doctrine, and its forms of worſhip. Among other fanatical ſectaries, there aroſe one of a moſt extraordinary kind, a Bohemian woman named *Wilhelmina*, who reſided in the territory of *Milan*. This delirious and wrong-headed woman, having ſtudied with attention the predictions concerning the *Age of the Holy Ghoſt*, was extravagant enough to perſuade herſelf, and, what is ſtill more amazing, had influence enough to perſuade others, that the Holy Ghoſt was be-

Eccl. Sæc. xiii. cap. iii. art. ii. p. 76.—DU BOIS, *Hiſtoria Eccleſ. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 244.—BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iii. p. 24. 48. 53.—JAC. THOMASIUS, *De Exſtione Mundi Stoica*, p. 199.

[*e*] LAUNOIUS, *De varia Ariſtot. fortuna in Acad. Pariſ.* p. 127.

come *incarnate* in her perſon, for the ſalvation of a great part of mankind. According to her doctrine, "None were ſaved by the blood of JESUS, "but true and pious Chriſtians; while the Jews, "Saracens, and unworthy Chriſtians, were to ob"tain ſalvation through the Holy Spirit which "dwelt in her, and that, in conſequence thereof, "all that had happened to CHRIST, during his "appearance upon earth in the human nature, "was to be exactly renewed in her perſon, or "rather in that of the Holy Ghoſt, which was "united to her." This mad woman died at *Milan* in the year 1281, in the moſt fragrant odour of ſanctity, and her memory was not only held in the higheſt veneration by her numerous followers and the ignorant multitude, but was alſo honoured with religious worſhip both in public and in private. Her ſect, nevertheleſs, was diſcovered by the curious eye of perſecution in the year 1300, and fell into the clutches of the inquiſitors, who deſtroyed the magnificent monument that had been erected in her honour, had her bones raiſed and committed to the flames, and in the ſame fire conſumed the chief leaders of this wretched faction, among which there were perſons of both ſexes [*f*].

The ſect called Apoſtles.

XIV. It was upon predictions ſimilar to thoſe mentioned in the preceding ſection, that *the ſect of the apoſtles* founded its diſcipline. The members of this ſect made little or no alterations in the doctrinal part of the public religion; what

[*f*] The Milaneſe hiſtorians, ſuch as BERNARD, CORIUS, and others, have related the adventures of this odd woman; but their accounts are very different from thoſe given by the learned MURATORI, in his *Antiqq. Italicæ medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 91. and which he has drawn from the judicial proceedings of the court, where the extraordinary caſe of this female fanatic was examined. We are informed by the ſame excellent author, that a learned writer, named PURICELLI, compoſed a hiſtory of WILHELMINA, and of her ſect.

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they principally aimed at, was, to introduce among Chriſtians the ſimplicity of the primitive times, and more eſpecially the manner of life that was obſerved by the apoſtles. GERHARD SÅGARELLI, the founder of this ſect, obliged his followers to go from place to place as the apoſtles did, to wander about cloathed in white, with long beards, diſhevelled hair, and bare heads, accompanied with women, whom they called their *Siſters*. They were alſo obliged to renounce all kinds of property and poſſeſſions, and to preach in public the neceſſity of repentance, while in their more private aſſemblies they declared the approaching deſtruction of the corrupt church of *Rome*, and the eſtabliſhment of a purer ſervice, and a more glorious church, that, according to the prophecies of the abbot JOACHIM, was to ariſe from its ruins. No ſooner was the unhappy leader of this faction committed to the flames [g], than he was ſucceeded in that character by a bold and enterpriſing fanatic, named DULCINUS, a native of *Novara*, who publiſhed his predictions with more courage, and maintained them with more zeal, than his predeceſſor had done, and who did not heſitate to declare that, in a ſhort time, the Roman pontif BONIFACE VIII., with the corrupt prieſts and the licentious monks, were to periſh by the hand of the emperor FREDERIC III., ſon of PETER, king of *Arragon*, and that a new and moſt holy pontif was to be raiſed to the head of the church. Theſe viſionary predictions were, no doubt, drawn from the dreams of the abbot JOACHIM, who is ſaid to have declared, among other things, that an emperor called FREDERIC III. was to bring to perfection what FREDERIC II. had left unfiniſhed. Be that as it may, DULCINUS appeared with intrepid aſſurance at the head of

[g] This unhappy man was burnt alive at *Parma*, in the year 1300.

the *apoſtles*; and acting not only in the character of a prophet, but alſo in that of a general, he aſſembled an army to maintain his cauſe, and perhaps to accompliſh, at leaſt in part, his predictions. He was oppoſed by RAYNERIUS, biſhop of *Vercelli*, who defended the intereſts of the Roman pontif, and carried on, during the ſpace of two years and more, a moſt bloody and dreadful war againſt this chief of the apoſtles. The iſſue of this conteſt was fatal to the latter, who, after ſeveral battles fought with obſtinate courage, was at length taken priſoner, and put to death at *Vercelli* in the moſt barbarous manner in the year 1307, together with *Margaret*, whom he had choſen for his *Spiritual Siſter*, according to the cuſtom of his ſect. The terrible end of DULCINUS was not immediately followed by the downfal of his ſect, which ſtill ſubſiſted in *France*, *Germany*, and in other countries, and ſtood firm againſt the moſt vehement efforts of its enemies until the beginning of the XVth century, when, under the pontificate of BONIFACE IX., it was totally extirpated [*b*].

A true account of the hereſy that was imputed to Joachim.

XV. This famous JOACHIM, abbot of *Flora*, whoſe fanatical predictions turned the heads of ſo many well-meaning people, and excited them to

[*b*] I compoſed in the German language an accurate hiſtory, in three books, of this famous ſect, which is very little known in our times, and I have in my hands materials, that will furniſh an intereſting addition to that hiſtory. That this ſect ſubſiſted in *Germany*, and in ſome other countries, until the pontificate of BONIFACE IX., is evident from the *Chronicle* of HERMAN CORNERUS, publiſhed by Jo. GEORGE ECHARD, in his *Corpus Hiſtoricum medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 906. and may be ſufficiently demonſtrated by other authentic teſtimonies. In the year 1402, a certain member of this apoſtolical ſect, whoſe name was WILLIAM, or WILHELMUS, was burnt alive at *Lubeck*. See CORNERUS, *loc. cit.* p. 1185. The Germans, who were accuſtomed to diſtinguiſh by the name of *Beghards* all thoſe who pretended to extraordinary piety, and ſought, by poverty and begging, an eminent reputation for ſanctity and virtue, gave this title alſo to the ſect of the *Apoſtles*.

attempt

attempt reforming the church by the ſword, and to declare open war againſt the Roman pontifs, did not fall under the ſuſpicion of hereſy on account of theſe predictions, but in conſequence of a new explication he had given of the doctrine of a Trinity of Perſons in the Godhead. He had in an elaborate work attacked very warmly PETER LOMBARD, the maſter of the ſentences, on account of the diſtinction this latter writer had made between the *Divine Eſſence*, and the *three Perſons* in the Godhead; for JOACHIM looked upon this doctrine as introdueing a *fourth* object, even an *eſſence*, into the Trinity. But the good man was too little verſed in metaphyſical matters, to carry on a controverſy of ſuch a ſubtile nature, and he was betrayed by his ignorance ſo far as to advance inconſiderately the moſt raſh and exceptionable tenets. For he denied that there was any thing, or any *eſſence*, that belonged in common to the three Perſons in the Trinity, or was jointly poſſeſſed by them; by which doctrine the *ſubſtantial* union between the three Perſons was taken away, and the unity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt was reduced from a *natural*, *ſimple*, and *numerical* unity, to a *moral* one only; that is, to ſuch an unity as reigns in the councils and opinions of different perſons, who embrace the ſame notions, and think and act with one accord. This explication of the Trinity was looked upon by many as very little different from the Arian ſyſtem; and therefore the Roman pontif, INNOCENT III., pronounced, in the year 1215, in the council of the Lateran, a damnatory ſentence againſt the doctrine of JOACHIM, which ſentence, however, did not extend to the perſon or fame of the abbot himſelf. And, indeed, notwithſtanding this papal ſentence, JOACHIM has at this day a conſiderable number of adherents and defenders, more eſpecially among thoſe of the Franciſcans, who are

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called *Obſervants*. Some of theſe maintain that the book of this abbot was corrupted and interpolated by his enemies, while the reſt are of opinion that his doctrine was not thoroughly underſtood by thoſe that oppoſed it [*i*].

[*i*] See DAN. PAPEBROCHIUS, *Diſquiſ. Hiſtor. de Florenſi Ordine, Prophetiis, Doctrina, B. Joachimi*, in *Actis Sanctorum, Maii*, tom. vi. p. 486. which contains *The Life of Joachim*, and ſeveral other pieces of conſequence. See alſo NATAL. ALEXANDER, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Sæc.* xiii. *Diſſ.* ii. p. 331.—LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 6.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the proſperous events that happened to the Church during this century.

SEVERAL attempts were made by the monarchs and princes of the weſt, ſet on by the inſtigation of the Roman pontifs, to renew the war in *Paleſtine* againſt the Turks and Saracens, and to deliver the whole province of *Syria* from the oppreſſive yoke of theſe deſpotic Infidels. The ſucceſſion of pontifs that reſided at *Avignon* were particularly zealous for the renovation of this religious war, and left no artifice, no methods of perſuaſion unemployed, that could have the leaſt tendency to engage the kings of *England* and *France* in an expedition to the Holy Land. But their ſucceſs was not anſwerable to their zeal; and notwithſtanding the powerful influence of their exhortations and remonſtrances, ſomething ſtill happened to prevent their producing the deſired effect. CLEMENT V. urged the renewal of this holy war with the greateſt ardour in the years 1307, 1308, and ſet apart an immenſe ſum of

Fruitleſs attempts to renew the cruſades.

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money for carrying it on with alacrity and vigour [*a*]. JOHN XXII. ordered a fleet of ten ships to be fitted out in the year 1319, to transport an army of pious adventurers into *Palestine* [*b*], and had recourse to the power of superstition, that is, to the influence of *indulgences*, for raising the funds necessary to the support of this great enterprize. These *indulgences* he offered to such as contributed generously to the carrying on the war, and appointed legates to administer them in all the countries in *Europe* that were subject to his ghostly jurisdiction. But, under this fair shew of piety and zeal, JOHN is supposed to have covered the most selfish and groveling views; and we find LEWIS of *Bavaria*, who was at that time emperor, and several other princes, complaining loudly that this pontif made use of the holy war as a pretext to disguise his avarice and ambition [*c*]; and indeed the character of this pope was proper to give credit to such complaints. Under the pontificate of BENEDICT XII., a formidable army was raised in the year 1330, by PHILIP DE VALOIS, king of *France*, with a view, as was said, to attempt the deliverance of the Christians in *Palestine* [*d*]; but when he was just ready to embark his troops, the apprehension of an invasion from *England*, obliged him to lay aside this weighty enterprize. In the year 1345, CLEMENT V., at the request of the Venetians, engaged, by the persuasive power of *indulgences*, a prodigious number of adventurers to embark for *Smyrna*, where they composed a numerous army under the command

[*a*] BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 15. 594. tom. ii. p. 55. 57. 374. 391, &c. ANT. MATTHÆI *Analecta veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 577.

[*b*] BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 125. tom. ii. p. 515.

[*c*] BALUZIUS, *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 175. 786.—MATTHÆI *Analecta vet. ævi*, tom. ii. p. 595. 598.

[*d*] BALUZIUS, *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 200.

of

of GUIDO or GUY, dauphin of *Vienne*; but the want of proviſions obliged this army to return with their general into *Europe* in a ſhort time after their departure [*e*]. This diſappointment did not, however, damp the ſpirits of the reſtleſs pontifs; for another formidable army was aſſembled in the year 1363, in conſequence of the zealous exhortations of URBAN V., and was to be employed in a new expedition againſt the infidels, with JOHN, king of *France*, at its head; but the unexpected death of that prince blaſted the hopes that many had entertained from this grand project, and occaſioned the diſperſion of that numerous body which had repaired to his ſtandards [*f*].

The ſtate of Chriſtianity in *China* and *Tartary*.

II. The miſſionaries that had been ſent by the Roman pontifs into *China*, *Tartary*, and the adjacent countries, in the preceding century, found their labours crowned with the deſired ſucceſs, and eſtabliſhed a great number of Chriſtian churches in theſe unenlightened nations. In the year 1307, CLEMENT V. erected *Cambalu* (which at this time was the celebrated metropolis of *Cathay*, and is, undoubtedly, the ſame with *Peking*, the capital city at preſent of the Chineſe empire) into an archbiſhopric, which he conferred upon JOHN DE MONTE CORVINO, an Italian friar, who had been employed in propagating the goſpel in that country for many years. The ſame pontif ſent ſoon after to aſſiſt this prelate in his pious labours ſeven other biſhops of the Franciſcan order [*g*]. JOHN XXII. exerted in this good cauſe

[*e*] *Fragmenta Hiſtor. Romanæ*, in MURATORI *Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 368.

[*f*] BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 366. 386. 371. 401.

[*g*] WADDINGUS, *Annal. Ordin. Minor.* tom. vi. *ad A.* 1305, § xii. p. 69. *ad A.* 1307, p. 91. 368. tom. vii. p. 53. 221. tom. viii. p. 235.—J. S. ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom.

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cauſe the ſame zeal which had diſtinguiſhed the pontificate of his predeceſſors. Upon the death of JOHN DE MONTE CORVINO, in the year 1330, he ſent NICOLAS of *Bentra* to fill the vacant archbiſhopric of *Cambalu*, and charged him with letters to the emperor of the Tartars, who, at that time, was in poſſeſſion of the Chineſe dominions. In the year 1338, BENEDICT XII. ſent new legates and miſſionaries into *Tartary* and *China*, in conſequence of a ſolemn embaſſy [*b*] with which he was honoured at *Avignon* from the Kan of the Tartars. During the time that the princes of this latter nation maintained themſelves in the empire of *China*, the Chriſtian religion flouriſhed in theſe vaſt regions, and both Latins and Neſtorians not only made a public profeſſion of their faith, but alſo propagated it without any apprehenſion of danger, throughout the northern provinces of *Aſia*.

Converſion of the Lithuanians.

III. There remained in this century ſcarcely any European prince, unconverted to Chriſtianity, if we except JAGELLO, duke of *Lithuania*, who continued in the darkneſs of paganiſm, and worſhipped the gods of his idolatrous anceſtors, until the year 1386, when he embraced the Chriſtian faith, received in baptiſm the name of VLADISLAUS, and perſuaded his ſubjects to open their eyes upon the divine light of the goſpel. We ſhall not pretend to juſtify the purity of the motives that firſt engaged this prince to renounce the religion of his fathers, as they were accompanied, at leaſt, with views of policy, intereſt, and ambition. Upon the death of LEWIS, king of *Poland*, which happened in the year 1382, JAGELLO was named among the competitors who

tom. iii. § ii. p. 521.—J. ECHARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 537.—*Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. *Januarii*, p. 984.—MOSHEMII *Hiſtoria Eccleſ. Tartar.*

[*b*] BALUZII *Vitæ Pontificum Avenionenſium*, tom. p. 242.

aſpired after the vacant throne; and as he was a rich and powerful prince, the Poles beheld his pretenſions and efforts with a favourable eye. His religion was the only obſtacle that lay in his way to the accompliſhment of his views. HEDWIGE, the youngeſt daughter of the deceaſed monarch, who, by a decree of the ſenate, was declared heireſs of the kingdom, was as little diſpoſed to eſpouſe, as the Poles were to obey, a Pagan, and hence JAGELLO was obliged to make ſuperſtition yield to royalty [*i*]. On the other hand, the Teutonic knights and cruſaders extirpated by fire and ſword any remains of paganiſm that were yet to be found in *Pruſſia* and *Livonia*, and effected, by force, what perſuaſion alone ought to have produced.

Many of the Jews become Chriſtians through compulſion.

We find alſo in the annals of this century a great many inſtances of Jews converted to the Chriſtian faith. The cruel perſecutions they ſuffered in ſeveral parts of *Europe*, particularly in *France* and *Germany*, vanquiſhed their obſtinacy, and bent their untractable ſpirits under the yoke of the goſpel. The reports (whether falſe or true we ſhall not determine) that had been induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, of their poiſoning the public fountains, of their killing infants and drinking their blood, of their profaning in the moſt impious and blaſphemous manner the conſecrated wafers that were uſed in the celebration of the euchariſt, with other accuſations equally enormous, excited every where the reſentment of the magiſtrates and the fury of the people, and brought the moſt terrible ſufferings, that unrelenting vengeance could invent, upon that wretched and devoted nation.

[*i*] ODOR. RAYNALDUS, *Annal. Eccleſ. ad A.* 1386. § iv. —WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. ix. p. 71.—SOLIGNAC, *Hiſtoire de Pologne*, tom. iii. p. 241.

IV.

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A ſcheme laid for the expulſion of the Saracens out of *Spain*.

IV. The Saracens maintained, as yet, a conſiderable footing in *Spain*. The kingdoms of *Granada* and *Murcia*, with the province of *Andaluſia*, were ſubject to their dominion; and they carried on a perpetual war with the kings of *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, and *Navarre*, in which, however, they were not always victorious. The African princes, and particularly the emperors of *Morocco*, became their auxiliaries againſt the Chriſtians. On the other hand, the Roman pontifs left no means unemployed to excite the Chriſtians to unite their forces againſt the Mahometans, and to drive them out of the Spaniſh territories; preſents, exhortations, promiſes, in ſhort, every allurement that religion, ſuperſtition, or avarice could render powerful, were made uſe of in order to the execution of this arduous project. The Chriſtians, accordingly, united their counſels and efforts for this end; and though for ſome time the difficulty of the enterprize rendered their progreſs but inconſiderable, yet even in this century their affairs carried a promiſing aſpect, and gave them reaſon to hope that they ſhould one day triumph over their enemies, and become ſole poſſeſſors of the Spaniſh dominions [*k*].

[*k*] See Jo. DE FERRERAS, *Hiſtoire de l'Eſpagne*, tom. iv. v. vii.—*Fragmenta Hiſtor. Romanæ*, in MURATORII *Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 319. in which, however, there is a conſiderable mixture of truth and falſehood.—BALUZII *Miſcellan.* tom. ii. p. 267.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the Church during this century.

CENT. XIV. PART I.

The Chriſtian religion loſes ground in *Aſia*.

I. THE Turks and Tartars, who extended their dominions in *Aſia* with an amazing rapidity, and directed their arms againſt the Greeks as well as againſt the Saracens, deſtroyed wherever they went the fruits that had ſprung up in ſuch a rich abundance from the labours of the Chriſtian miſſionaries, extirpated the religion of JESUS in ſeveral provinces and cities where it flouriſhed, and ſubſtituted the impoſtures of MAHOMET in its place. Many of the Tartars had formerly profeſſed the goſpel, and ſtill more had tolerated the exerciſe of that divine religion; but, from the beginning of this century, things put on a new face; and that fierce nation renounced every other religious doctrine, except that of the Alcoran. TIMUR BEG, commonly called TAMERLANE, their mighty emperor, embraced himſelf the doctrine of MAHOMET, though under a form different from that which was adopted by the Tartars in general [*l*]. This formidable warrior, after having ſubdued the greateſt part of *Aſia*, having triumphed over BAJAZET the emperor of the Turks, and even filled *Europe* with terror at the approach of his victorious arms,

[*l*] This great TAMERLANE, whoſe name ſeemed to ſtrike terror even when he was no more, adhered to the ſect of the *Sonnites*, and profeſſed the greateſt enmity againſt their adverſaries the *Schiites*. See PETIT CROIX, *Hiſtoire de Timur-Bec*, tom. ii. p. 151. tom. iii. p. 228. It is, however, extremely doubtful, what was, in reality, the religion of TAMERLANE, though he profeſſed the Mahometan faith. See MOSHEIM, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Tartaror.* p. 124.

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made uſe of his authority to force multitudes of Chriſtians to apoſtatize from their holy faith. To the dictates of authority he added the compulſive power of violence and perſecution, and treated the diſciples of CHRIST with the utmoſt barbarity. Perſuaded, as we learn from the moſt credible writers of his life and actions, that it was incumbent upon the true followers of MAHOMET, to perſecute the Chriſtians, and that the moſt ample and glorious rewards were reſerved for ſuch as were moſt inſtrumental in converting them to the Mahometan faith [*m*]; he employed the moſt inhuman acts of ſeverity to vanquiſh the magnanimous conſtancy of thoſe that perſevered in their attachment to the Chriſtian religion, of whom ſome ſuffered death in the moſt barbarous forms, while others were condemned to perpetual ſlavery [*n*].

The decline of Chriſtianity in *China* and in *Tartary*.

II. In thoſe parts of *Aſia*, that are inhabited by the Chineſe, Tartars, Moguls, and other nations as yet leſs known, the Chriſtian religion not only loſt ground, but ſeemed to be totally extirpated. It is, at leaſt, certain, that we have no account of any members of the Latin church reſiding in thoſe countries, later than the year 1370, nor could we ever learn the fate of the Franciſcan miſſionaries that had been ſent thither from *Rome*. We have, indeed, ſome records, from which it would appear that there were Neſtorians reſiding in *China* ſo far down as the

[*m*] PETIT CROIX, *Hiſtoire de Timur-Bec*, tom. ii. p. 329. tom. iii. p. 137. 243, &c.

[*n*] Many inſtances of this we find in a *Hiſtory of Timur-Bec*, wrote by a Perſian, who was named SCHERFEDINUS, tom. ii. p. 376. 384. 386. tom. iii. p. 243. tom. iv. p. 111. 115. 117. and publiſhed at *Delft*, in four volumes, 8vo, in the year 1723. —See alſo HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Oriental.* at the article TIMUR, p. 877.

ſixteenth

ſixteenth century [o]; but theſe records are not ſo clear in relation to this matter, as to remove all uncertainty and doubting. However that may be, it is evident beyond all contradiction, that the abolition of Chriſtianity, in thoſe remote parts of the world, was owing to the wars that were carried on by the Tartars againſt the Chineſe and other Aſiatic nations; for in the year 1369, the laſt emperor of the race of GENGIS KAN was driven out of *China*, and his throne filled by the *Mim* family, who, by a ſolemn law, refuſed to all foreigners the privilege of entering into *China*.

[o] NICOL. TRIGAUTIUS, *De Chriſtiana expeditione apud Sinas*, lib. i. cap. xi. p. 116.—JOS. SIM. ASSEMANNI *Bibliotb. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. part I. p. 592. & part II. p. 445. 536.—HALDE, *Deſcription de la China*, tom. i. p. 175.

PART II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the ſtate of letters and philoſophy during this century.

CENT. XIV. PART II.

The ſtate of letters among the Greeks.

I. THE Greeks, though dejected by the foreign and inteſtine calamities in which they were involved, were far from withdrawing their attention and zeal from the cauſe of literature, as is evident from the great number of learned men who flouriſhed among them during this period. In this honourable claſs was NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, MANUEL CHRYSOLORAS, MAXIMUS PLANUDES, and many others, who, by their indefatigable application to the ſtudy of humanity and antiquities, criticiſm and grammar, acquired conſiderable reputation. To omit writers of inferior note, THEODORUS METOCHILA, JOHN CANTACUZENUS, and NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, applied themſelves to the compoſition of hiſtory, though with different ſucceſs. Nor ought we to paſs over in ſilence NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS, who compiled an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which, notwithſtanding its being debaſed with idle ſtories and evident marks of ſuperſtition, is highly uſeful on account of the light it caſts on many important facts.

The ſtate of philoſophy among the Greeks.

II. As none of the ſages of this century was adventurous enough to ſet up for a leader in philoſophy, ſuch of the Greeks as had a taſte for philoſophical reſearches adhered to ARISTOTLE, as their conductor and guide; but we may learn from

from the tracts of THEODORUS METOCHITA in what manner they explained the principles and tenets of the Stagirite. PLATO alſo had his followers, eſpecially among thoſe who were fond of myſticiſm, which had for many ages been held in the higheſt veneration by the Greeks. In the ſublime ſciences of mathematics and aſtronomy NICOLAS CABASILAS ſurpaſſed all his contemporaries. BARLAAM adopted the ſentiments and precepts of the Stoics with reſpect to the obligations of morality and the duties of life, and digeſted them into a work of his, which is known by the title of *Ethica ex Stoicis* [q].

The ſtate of learning among the Latins.

III. In all the Latin provinces, ſchemes were laid and carried into execution with conſiderable ſucceſs, for promoting the ſtudy of letters, improving taſte, and diſpelling the pedantic ſpirit of the times. This laudable diſpoſition gave riſe to the erection of many ſchools and academies, at *Cologn*, *Orleans*, *Cahors*, *Peruſia*, *Florence*, and *Piſa*, in which all the liberal arts and ſciences, diſtributed into the ſame claſſes that ſtill ſubſiſt in thoſe places, were taught with aſſiduity and zeal. Opulent perſons founded and amply endowed particular *colleges* in the public univerſities, in which, beſides the *monks*, young men of narrow circumſtances were educated in all the branches of literature. Libraries were alſo collected, and men of learning animated to aſpire to fame and glory, by the proſpect of honourable rewards. It muſt be confeſſed indeed, that the advantages ariſing to the church and ſtate, from ſo many profeſſors and learned men, did not wholly anſwer the expence and care beſtowed on this undertaking, by men of rank and fortune: yet we are by no means to conclude, as many have raſhly done, that all the doctors of this age, who roſe

[q] HENRICI CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 405.

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gradually from the lower to the higher and more honourable ſtations, were only diſtinguiſhed by their ſtupidity and ignorance.

The ſtate of languages.

IV. CLEMENT V., who was now raiſed to the pontificate, ordered the Hebrew, and other Oriental languages, to be taught in the public ſchools, that the church might never want a ſufficient number of miſſionaries properly qualified to diſpute with the Jews and Mahometans, and to diffuſe the divine light of the goſpel throughout the eaſt [*r*]: in conſequence of which appointment, ſome eminent proficients in theſe tongues, and eſpecially in the Hebrew, flouriſhed during this age. The Greek language, which hitherto had been much neglected, was now revived, and taught with general applauſe, firſt of all by LEONTIUS PILATUS, a Calabrian, who wrote a commentary upon HOMER, and a few others [*s*], but afterwards, with far greater ſucceſs and reputation, by MANUEL CHRYSOLORAS [*t*], a native of *Conſtantinople*. Nor were there wanting ſome extraordinary geniuſes, who, by their zeal and application, contributed to the reſtoration of the ancient and genuine eloquence of the Latins, among whom the excellent and juſtly-renowned PETRARCH held the firſt place [*u*],

[*r*] See ANT. WOOD, *Antiq. Oxonienſ.* tom. i. p. 156. 159.

[*s*] See HUMPH. HODY, *De Græcis illuſtribus, Linguæ Græcæ Literarumque humaniorum inſtauratoribus*, lib. i. p. 5. *Londini*, 1742, in 8vo.—CALOGERA, *Opuſculi Scientifici*, tom. XXV. p. 258.

[*t*] HODY, *loc. cit.* lib. i. p. 10.—ANGELI CALOGERÆ *loc. cit.* p. 248.—And more eſpecially CHRIST. FRID. BORNERI *Lib. de Græcis Literarum Græcarum in Italia inſtauratoribus.*

[*u*] See JAC. PHIL. THOMASINI *vita Petrarchi* in Jo. GERH. MEUSCHEN *Vitæ clarer. viror.* tom. iv. who in his Preface enumerates all the other writers of his life. Of the celebrated poet DANTE, ſeveral have treated, particularly his tranſlator BENEVENUTUS of *Imola*, from whence MURATORIUS has borrowed large extracts in his *Antiquit. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1036. *ſ.*

and

and DANTE ALIGHIERI the ſecond. Full of this worthy deſign, they both acted as if they had received an extraordinary commiſſion to promote the reign of true taſte and the progreſs of polite learning; and their ſucceſs was anſwerable to the generous ambition that animated their efforts; for they had many followers and admirers, not only among their countrymen, but alſo among the French and Germans.

Of the other ſciences.

V. The writings of this age furniſh us with a long liſt of grammarians, hiſtorians, lawyers, and phyſicians, of which it would be eaſy to give a circumſtantial account: but as it is quite foreign to our purpoſe, it will be ſufficient to inform our readers, that there were but few of this vaſt multitude, whoſe labours were in any great degree uſeful to ſociety. Great numbers applied themſelves to the ſtudy of the *civil* and *canon* law, becauſe it was the readieſt way to preferment both in church and ſtate. Such as have any tolerable acquaintance with hiſtory, cannot be entire ſtrangers to the fame of BARTOLUS, BALDUS, ANDREAS, and other doctors of laws in this century, who reflected honour on the univerſities of *Italy*. But, after all, it is certain that the juriſprudence of this age was a moſt intricate diſagreeable ſtudy, unenlivened either by hiſtory or language, and deſtitute of every allurement that could recommend it to a man of genius. As for the mathematics, they were cultivated by many; yet, if we except Doctor THOMAS BRADWARDINE, the acute and learned archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, there were but few who acquired any reputation worth mentioning by this kind of ſtudy.

Of philoſophy.

VI. The vaſt number of philoſophers, who rather diſgraced than adorned this century, looked upon ARISTOTLE as their infallible oracle and guide; though they ſtript him of all thoſe excellencies that really belonged to him, and were

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incapable of entering into the true ſpirit of his writings. So great was the authority of the peripatetic philoſophy, that, in order to diffuſe the knowledge of it as widely as poſſible, even kings and emperors ordered the works of ARISTOTLE to be tranſlated into the native language of their reſpective dominions. Among the moſt eminent of this claſs was CHARLES V., king of *France*, who ordered all the writings of the ancients, and eſpecially thoſe of ARISTOTLE, to be tranſlated into French by NICHOLAS ORESME [*w*]. Thoſe, however, who profeſſed themſelves philoſophers, inſtead of being animated by the love of truth, were inflamed by a rage of diſputation, which led them to perplex and deform the pure, ſimple doctrines of reaſon and religion, by a multitude of idle ſubtilties, trifling queſtions, and ridiculous diſtinctions. It is needleſs to enlarge on the barbarity of their phraſeology, in which they ſuppoſed the whole ſtrength of their art conſiſted; as alſo on that utter averſion to every branch of polite learning in which they fooliſhly gloried. Thoſe who have a mind to be acquainted with their methods of argumentation, and whatever elſe relates to this wrangling tribe, need only conſult JOHN SCOTUS, or WALTER BULÆUS. But though they all followed one common track, there were ſeveral points on which they differed among themſelves.

The Realiſts and Nominaliſts.

VII. The old diſputes between the *Realiſts* and *Nominaliſts*, which had lain dormant a long time, were now revived with unextinguiſhable ardour, by an Engliſh Franciſcan friar of the ſeverer order, named WILLIAM OCCAM, who was a follower of the great SCOTUS, and a doctor of divi-

[*w*] Jo. LAUNOIUS, *Hiſt. Gymnaſ. Navarr.* tom. iv. opp. part I. p. 504.—BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 379.—LE BOEUF, *Diſſert. ſur l'Hiſt. Eccleſ. et Civile, Par.* tom. iii. p. 456. 463. *ſ.*

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nity at *Paris*. The Greeks and Perſians never fought againſt each other with more hatred and fury, than theſe two diſcordant ſects, whoſe angry diſputations ſubſiſted without any abatement, till the appearance of LUTHER, who ſoon obliged the ſcholaſtic divines to terminate their mutual wranglings, and to liſten to terms of accommodation. The *Realiſts* deſpiſed their antagoniſts as philoſophers of a recent date, branding them with the name of *Moderns*, while, through a great miſtake, they aſcribed a very high antiquity to the tenets of their own party. The *Nominaliſts*, on the other hand, inveighed againſt them as a ſet of doating viſionaries, who, deſpiſing ſubſtantial matters, were purſuing mere ſhadows. The *Nominaliſts* had the moſt eloquent, acute, and ſubtile doctors of *Paris* for their leaders, among whom, beſides OCCAM, the famous JOHN BURIDAN [*x*] was very eminent: nevertheleſs, through the countenance given them by ſucceſſive popes, the *Realiſts* prevailed. For when OCCAM joined the party of the Franciſcan monks, who ſtrenuouſly oppoſed JOHN XXII., that pope himſelf, and his ſucceſſors after him, left no means untried to extirpate the philoſophy of the *Nominaliſts*, which was deemed highly prejudicial to the intereſts of the church [*y*]: and hence it was, that, in the year 1339, the univerſity of *Paris*, by a public edict, ſolemnly condemned and prohibited the philoſophy of OCCAM, which was that of the *Nominaliſts* [*z*]. But, as it is natural for

[*x*] ROB. GUAGINUS wrote a particular account of this famous man, as we learn from JO. LAUNOIUS, in his *Hiſtoria Gymnaſii Navarreni*, tom. iv. opp. part I. p. 722. ſee alſo p. 296, 297. 330. and BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 282. 307. 341, &c.

[*y*] STEPH. BALUZII *Miſcellanea*, tom. iv. p. 532.

[*z*] BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 257. tom. v. p. 708.—CAR. PLESS. D'ARGENTRE, *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, &c. ſee MOSHEIM.

CENT. XV. PART II.

men to love and purſue what is forbidden, the conſequence was, that the party of the *Nominaliſts* flouriſhed more than ever.

Aſtrology mingles itſelf with the philoſophy of the times, and is conſidered as magic.

VIII. Among the philoſophers of theſe times, there were many who mingled aſtrology with their philoſophy, *i. e.* the art of telling fortunes, by the aſpect of the heavens, and the influence of the ſtars; and, notwithſtanding the obvious folly and abſurdity of this pretended ſcience, all ranks of people, from the higheſt down to the loweſt, were fond of it even to diſtraction. Yet, in ſpite of all this popular prejudice in favour of their art, theſe aſtrological philoſophers, to avoid being impeached of witchcraft, and to keep themſelves out of the hands of the inquiſitors, were obliged to behave with great circumſpection. The neglect of this caution was remarkably fatal to CECCUS ASCULANUS, a famous peripatetic philoſopher, aſtrologer, and mathematician, firſt of all phyſician to pope JOHN XXII., and afterwards to CHARLES SINETERRA, duke of *Calabria*. This unhappy man having performed ſome experiments in mechanics, that ſeemed miraculous to the vulgar, and having alſo offended many, and among the reſt his maſter, by giving out ſome predictions, which were ſaid to have been fulfilled, was univerſally ſuppoſed to deal with infernal ſpirits, and burnt for it by the inquiſitors at *Florence*, in the year 1337 [*a*]. There is yet extant a commentary of his upon the *Sphere of John de Sacroboſco*, otherwiſe named *Holywood*, which ſhews its author to have been deeply tainted with ſuperſtition [*b*].

[*a*] PAUL ANTON. APPIANUS wrote a defence of this unhappy man, which is inſerted in DOMEN. BERNINI *Storia di tutte l'hereſie*, tom. iii. ſæc. xiv. cap. iii. p. 210. *ſ.* We have alſo a further account of him in JO. MARIA CRESCIMBENUS, *Commentari della volgar. Poeſia*, vol. ii. part II. lib. iii. cap. xiv.

[*b*] GABR. NAUDÆUS, *Apologie pour les grands hommes qui ont eté ſoupſonnez de Magie*, p. 270. *ſ.*

IX.

The philoſophy of Lully.

IX. RAYMUND LULLY was the author of a new and very ſingular kind of philoſophy, which he endeavoured to illuſtrate and defend by his voluminous writings. He was a native of *Majorca*, and admirable for the extent and fecundity of his genius; yet, at the ſame time, a ſtrange compound of reaſon and folly. Being full of zeal for the propagation of the goſpel, and having performed many voyages, and undergone various hardſhips to promote it, he was ſlain at *Bugia*, in *Africa*, in the year 1315, by the Mahometans, whom he was attempting to convert. The Franciſcans, to whoſe third order it is ſaid he belonged, extol him to the ſkies, and have taken great pains to perſuade ſeveral popes to canonize him: while many on the contrary, and eſpecially the Dominicans, inveigh bitterly againſt him, calling him a harebrained chymiſt, a hot-headed fanatic, a heretic, a magician, and a mere compiler of the works of the more learned Mahometans. The popes entertained different opinions of him; ſome eſteeming him a harmleſs pious man, while others pronounced him a vile heretic. But whoever peruſes the writings of LULLY without prejudice, will not be biaſſed by either of theſe parties. It is at leaſt certain, that he would have been a great man, had the warmth and fertility of his imagination been tempered with a ſound judgment [*c*].

[*c*] See JOHN SALZINGER's Preface to RAYMUND LULLY's Works, which JOHN WILLIAM, elector *Palatine*, cauſed to be collected at a great expence, and to be publiſhed, in 1720, in five folio volumes. LUC. WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 421. tom. v. p. 157. 316. tom. vi. p. 229. Concerning the famous invention of LULLY, ſee DAN. GEORG. MORHOFIUS, *Polyhiſtoire*, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 352. *ſ.*

CHAP. II.

Concerning the doctors and government of the Church during this century.

CENT. XIV. PART II.

The corrupt ſtate of the clergy.

I. THE governors of the church in this period, from the higheſt to the loweſt orders, were addicted to vices peculiarly diſhonourable to their ſacred character. We ſhall ſay nothing of the Grecian and Oriental clergy, who lived, for the moſt part, under a rigid, ſevere, and oppreſſive government, though they deſerve their part in this heavy and ignominious charge. But with regard to the Latins our ſilence would be inexcuſable, ſince the flagrant abuſes that prevailed among them were attended with conſequences equally pernicious to the intereſts of religion and the well-being of civil ſociety. It is however neceſſary to obſerve, that there were, even in theſe degenerate times, ſeveral pious and worthy men, who ardently longed for a reformation of the church, both in *its head and members*, as they uſed to expreſs themſelves [*d*]. Laudable as theſe deſires undoubtedly were, many circumſtances concurrred to prevent their accompliſhment; ſuch as the exorbitant power of the popes, ſo confirmed by length of time that it ſeemed immoveable, the exceſſive ſuperſtition that enſlaved the minds of the generality, together with the wretched ignorance and barbarity of the age, by which every ſpark of truth was ſtifled, as it were, in its very birth. Yet, firm and laſting as the dominion of the Roman pontifs ſeemed to be, it was gradually undermined and weaken-

[*d*] MATT. FLACIUS, *Catalogo teſtium veritatis*, lib. xiii. p. 1697. Jo. LAUNOIUS, *De varia fortuna Ariſtotelis*, p. 217. JO. HENR. HOTTINGERI *Hiſtoria Eccleſ. Sæc.* xiv. p. 754.

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ed, partly by the pride and raſhneſs of the popes themſelves, and partly by ſeveral unexpected events.

Philip king of *France* oppoſes the papal tyranny.

II. This important change may be dated from the quarrel which aroſe between BONIFACE VIII., who filled the papal throne about the beginning of this century, and PHILIP the Fair, king of *France*. This prince, who was endowed with a bold and enterpriſing ſpirit, ſoon convinced *Europe*, that it was poſſible to ſet bounds to the overgrown arrogance of the biſhop of *Rome*, notwithſtanding many crowned heads had attempted it without ſucceſs. BONIFACE ſent PHILIP the haughtieſt letters imaginable, in which he aſſerted, that the king of *France*, with all other kings and princes whatſoever, were obliged, by a divine command, to ſubmit to the authority of the popes, as well in all political and civil matters, as in thoſe of a religious nature. The king anſwered him with great ſpirit, and in terms expreſſive of the utmoſt contempt. The pope rejoined with more arrogance than ever; and, in that famous *bull*, *unam ſanctam*, which he publiſhed about this time, aſſerted that JESUS CHRIST had granted a twofold power to his church, or, in other words, *the ſpiritual* and *temporal ſword*; that he had ſubjected the whole human race to the authority of the Roman pontif, and that whoever dared to diſbelieve it, were to be deemed heretics, and ſtood excluded from all poſſibility of ſalvation [*e*]. The king, on the other hand, in an aſſembly of the peers of his kingdom, held in the year 1303, ordered WILLIAM DE NOGARET, a celebrated lawyer [*f*], to draw up an accuſation

[*e*] This *bull* is yet extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon. Extravagant. Commun.* lib. i. *tit. De majoritate et obedientia.*

[*f*] Of this celebrated lawyer, who was the moſt intrepid and inveterate enemy the popes ever had before LUTHER, none have

accuſation againſt the pope, in which he publicly charged him with *hereſies*, *ſimony*, and many other vices, demanding, at the ſame time, an œcumenical council to depoſe ſuch an execrable pontif. The pope, in his turn, paſſed a ſentence of excommunication, that very year, againſt the king and all his adherents.

The event of this warm conteſt.

III. PHILIP, ſhortly after he received his ſentence, held an aſſembly of the ſtates of the kingdom, where he again employed ſome perſons of the higheſt rank and reputation to ſit in judgment upon the pope, and appealed to a general council. After this he ſent WILLIAM DE NOGARET, with ſome others, into *Italy*, to excite a ſedition, to ſeize the pope's perſon, and then to convey him to *Lyons*, where the king was determined to hold the above-mentioned council. NOGARET, being a reſolute active man, ſoon drew over to his aſſiſtance the powerful family of the COLONNAS, then at variance with the pope, levied a ſmall army, ſeized BONIFACE, who lived in perfect ſecurity at *Anagni*, and as ſoon as he had got him into his power, treated him in the moſt ſhocking manner, carried his reſentment ſo far as to wound him on the head by a blow with his iron gauntlet. The inhabitants of *Anagni* reſcued him out of the hands of this fierce and inveterate enemy, and conducted him to *Rome*, where he died ſoon after of an illneſs occaſioned by the rage and anguiſh into which theſe inſults had thrown him [*g*].

IV.

have given us a fuller account than the Benedictine monks, *Hiſt. Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 114. 117. *ſ.* PHILIP made him chancellor of *France* for his reſolute oppoſition againſt the pope.

[*g*] See the *Acta inter Bonifacium* VIII., *Bened.* XI., *Clement* V., *et Philippum Pulchrum*, publiſhed, A. D. 1614, by PETER PUTEANUS.—ADR. BAILLET, *Hiſt. de Demelez du Boniface* VIII., *avec Philippe de Bel*, printed at *Paris*, in 4to, in 1718.

IV. BENEDICT XI., who ſucceeded him, and whoſe name before his acceſſion to the papal chair was NICOLAS BOCCACINI, learned prudence by this fatal example, and purſued more moderate and gentle meaſures. He repealed, of his own accord, the ſentence of excommunication that his predeceſſor had thundered out againſt the king of *France* and his dominions; but never could be prevailed upon to abſolve NOGARET of his treaſon againſt the ghoſtly majeſty of the pontificate. NOGARET, on the other hand, ſet a ſmall value upon the papal abſolution, and proſecuted, with his uſual vigour and intrepidity, in the Roman court, the accuſation that he had formerly brought againſt BONIFACE; and, in the name of his royal maſter, inſiſted, that the memory of that pontif ſhould be branded with a notorious mark of infamy. While this was tranſacting, BENEDICT died, A. D. 1304; upon which PHILIP, by his artful intrigues in the conclave, obtained the ſee of *Rome* for a French prelate BERTRAND DE GOT, archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, who was accordingly elected to that high dignity, on the 5th of June 1305. This ſtep was ſo much the more neceſſary, in that the breach between the king and the court of *Rome* was not yet entirely healed, and, as NOGARET was not as yet abſolved, might eaſily be renewed. Beſides, the French monarch, inflamed with the deſire of revenge, inſiſted upon the formal condemnation of BONIFACE by the court of *Rome*, the abolition of the order of *Templars*, and other conceſſions of great importance, which he could not reaſonably expect from an Italian pope. Hence he looked upon a French pontif, in whoſe zeal and compliance he could confide, as neceſſary

The papal reſidence removed to *Avignon*.

1718.—JO. RUBEUS, *in Bonifacio*, cap. xvi. p. 137.—The other writers on this ſubject are mentioned by BAILLET, in his Preface, p. 9.—See alſo BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 4.

CENT. XIV. PART II.

to the execution of his designs. BERTRAND assumed the name of CLEMENT V., and, at the king's request, remained in *France*, and removed the papal residence to *Avignon*, where it continued during the space of seventy years. This period the Italians call, by way of derision, the Babylonish captivity [*b*].

The diminution of the papal authority.

V. There is no doubt, but that the continued residence of the popes in *France* greatly impaired the authority of the Roman see. For during the absence of the pontifs from *Rome*, the faction of the *Gibellines*, their inveterate enemies, rose to a greater height than ever; insomuch, that they not only invaded and ravaged *St. Peter's patrimony*, but even attacked the papal authority, by their writings. This caused many cities to revolt from the popes: even *Rome* itself was the grand source and fomenter of cabals, tumults, and civil wars; insomuch, that the laws and decrees sent thither from *France* were publicly treated with contempt by the common people, as well as by the nobles [*i*]. The influence of this example was propagated from *Italy* through most parts of *Europe*; it being evident, from a vast number of instances, that the Europeans in general did not pay near so much regard to the decrees and thunders of the Gallic popes, as

[*b*] For an account of the French popes, consult chiefly STEPH. BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenioncnsium*, published at *Paris* in two volumes 4to, in the year 1693. The reader may also peruse, but it must be with the utmost caution, LONGUEVAL'S *History of the Gallican Church*, and those who continued that work after his death. See more especially tom. xii. This Jesuit, and his successors, have shewn great industry and eloquence in the composition of this history; but they, for the most part, artfully conceal the vices and enormities of the Roman pontifs.

[*i*] See BALUZII *Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 290, 291, 301. 309. 323. and many other places.—MURATORII *Antiqq. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 397. 401. 409, &c.—GIANNONE, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. iii. p. 280.

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they did to thoſe of *Rome.* This gave riſe to various ſeditions againſt the pontifs, which they could not entirely cruſh, even with the aid of the *inquiſitors,* who exerted themſelves with the moſt barbarous fury.

New ſchemes invented by the popes to acquire riches.

VI. The French pontifs, finding they could draw but ſmall revenues from their Italian dominions, which were now torn in pieces by faction, and ravaged by ſedition, were obliged to contrive new methods of accumulating wealth. For this purpoſe they not only ſold *indulgences* to the people, more frequently than they had formerly done, whereby they made themſelves extremely odious to ſeveral potentates, but alſo diſpoſed publicly of ſcandalous licences, of all ſorts, at an exceſſive price. JOHN XXII. was remarkably ſhrewd and zealous in promoting this abominable traffic; for, though he was not the firſt inventor of the *taxes and rules of the apoſtolical chancery,* yet the Romiſh writers acknowledge that he enlarged and rendered them more extenſively profitable to the holy treaſury [*k*]. It is certain, that the origin of the tribute paid to the popes under the name of *Annates,* and which is generally affirmed to have been firſt impoſed by him, is of a much earlier date [*l*]. Beſides the abuſes now mentioned, theſe Gallic popes, having aboliſhed the right of elections, arrogated to themſelves a power of conferring all the offices of the church, whether greater or ſmaller, according to their fancy, by which they ſoon amaſſed prodigious wealth. It was alſo under their government

[*k*] JO. CIAMPINUS, *De vicecancellario eccleſiæ Rom.* p. 39.—CAR. CHAIS, *Lettres ſur les Jubiles,* tom. ii. p. 673. and others.

[*l*] BERNH. van ESPEN, *Jus Eccleſ. univerſale,* tom. ii. p. 876.—BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 911.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 213.—GUIL. FRANC. BERTHIER, *Diſſ. ſur les Annates,* tom. xii. *Hiſt. de l'Egliſe Gallic.* p. i.

that *reſerves*, *proviſions*, *expectatives*, and other impoſitions of the like odious nature, that had ſeldom or never been heard of before, became familiar to the public ear, and filled all *Europe* with bitter complaints [*m*]. Theſe complaints exceeded all bounds, when ſome of theſe pontifs, particularly JOHN XXII., CLEMENT VI., and GREGORY X., openly declared that they had *reſerved* to themſelves all churches and pariſhes within their juriſdiction, and were determined, in conſequence of that ſovereign authority and *plenitude of power* which CHRIST had conferred upon them, his vicars, to *provide* for them, and diſpoſe of them without exception [*n*]. It was by theſe and other ſuch mean and ſelfiſh contrivances, which had no other end than the acquiſition of riches, that theſe inconſiderate pontifs excited a general hatred againſt the Roman ſee, and thereby greatly weakened the papal empire, which had been viſibly upon the decline from the time of BONIFACE.

The obſequiouſneſs of Clement V. to Philip.

VII. CLEMENT V. was a mere creature of PHILIP the Fair, and was abſolutely directed and governed by that prince as long as he lived. WILLIAM DE NOGARET, the implacable enemy of BONIFACE VIII., notwithſtanding he was under a ſentence of excommunication, had the boldneſs to proſecute his maſter's cauſe, and his own, againſt BONIFACE, even in the pope's court; an inſtance of aſſurance this, not eaſy to be paralleled. PHILIP inſiſted, that the dead body of

[*m*] STEPH. BALUZII *Miſcellan.* tom. iii. p. 479. 518. *Ejus Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 60. 63. 65. 74. 154. 156. *Gallia Chriſtiana Benedictinor.* tom. i. Append. p. 13. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 148. 201, 202. BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 911.

[*n*] BALUZII *Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 873. tom. i. p. 285. 311. 681. *ſ.* ANT. MATTHÆI *Analecta vet. ævi*, tom. v. p. 249. *ſ. Gallia Chriſtiana*, tom. i. p. 69. 1208. *Hiſtoire du droit Eccleſ. François*, tom. ii. p. 129. *ſ.*

BONIFACE

BONIFACE ſhould be dug up, and publicly burnt; but CLEMENT averted this infamy by his advice and intreaties, promiſing implicit obedience to the king in every thing elſe. In order therefore to keep his word, he was obliged to abrogate the laws enacted by BONIFACE, to grant the king a bounty of five years tithes, fully to abſolve NOGARET of all his crimes, on condition of his ſubmitting to a light penance (which, however, he never performed), to reſtore the citizens of *Anagni* to their reputation and honour, and to call a general council at *Vienna* in the year 1311, in order to condemn the Templars, on whoſe deſtruction PHILIP was moſt ardently bent. In this council every thing was determined as the king thought proper. For CLEMENT, terrified by the melancholy fate of BONIFACE, durſt not venture to oppoſe this intrepid and obſtinate monarch [*o*].

VIII. Upon CLEMENT's death, which happened in the year 1314, many fierce contentions aroſe in the conclave about chooſing a ſucceſſor, the French cardinals inſiſting upon a French, and thoſe of *Italy* demanding an Italian pope. After a conteſt, which continued two years, the French party prevailed, and, in the year 1316, elected JAMES DE EUSE, a native of *Cahors*, and cardinal biſhop of *Porto*. He aſſumed the name of JOHN XXII., and had a tolerable ſhare of learning, but was at the ſame time crafty and proud, weak, imprudent, and covetous, which is allowed even by thoſe writers who, in other reſpects, ſpeak well of him. He is deſervedly cenſured on account of his temerity, and the ill ſucceſs that attended him, through his own imprudence, in

John XXII. Nicolas V.

[*o*] Beſides the common writers already cited, ſee GUIL. FRANC. BERTHIERII, *Diſcours ſur le Pontificat de Clement* V., tom. iii. *Hiſtoriæ Eccleſ. Gallic.* COLONIA. *Hiſt. Litter. de Lyon*, tom. i. p. 340. *Gallia Chriſtiana Benedict.* tom. i. p. 1189. & tom. ii. p. 829.

many

many of his enterprizes; but he is more eſpecially blamed for that calamitous and unhappy war into which he entered againſt LEWIS of *Bavaria*. This powerful prince diſputed the imperial throne of *Germany* with FREDERIC, duke of *Auſtria*; and they had been both choſen to that high dignity, in the year 1314, by their reſpective partiſans among the electors and princes of the empire. JOHN took it for granted, that the deciſion of this conteſt came under his ghoſtly juriſdiction. But, in the year 1322, the duke of *Bavaria* having vanquiſhed his competitor by force of arms, took upon him the adminiſtration of the empire without aſking the pope's approbation, and would by no means allow, that their diſpute, already determined by the ſword, ſhould be again decided by the judgment of the pope. JOHN interpreted this refuſal as a heinous inſult upon his authority, and, by an edict iſſued out in the year 1324, pretended to deprive the emperor of his crown. But this impotent reſentment was very little regarded; nay, he was even accuſed of hereſy by the emperor, who, at the ſame time, appealed to a general council. Highly exaſperated by theſe and other deſerved affronts, the pontif preſumes, in the year 1327, to declare the imperial throne vacant a ſecond time, and even to publiſh a ſentence of excommunication againſt the chief of the empire. This new mark of papal arrogance was ſeverely reſented by LEWIS, who, in the year 1328, publiſhed an edict at *Rome*, by which JOHN was declared unworthy of the pontificate, depoſed from that dignity, and ſucceeded in it by one of his bittereſt enemies PETER DE CORBIERI, a Franciſcan monk, who aſſumed the name of NICOLAS V., and crowned the emperor at *Rome* in a ſolemn and public manner. But, in the year 1330, this *imperial* pope voluntarily abdicated the chair of *St. Peter*, and

and ſurrendered himſelf to JOHN, who kept him in cloſe confinement at *Avignon* for the reſt of his days. Thus ended the conteſt between the duke of *Bavaria* and JOHN XXII., who, notwithſtanding their mutual efforts to dethrone each other, continued both in the poſſeſſion of their reſpective dignities [*p*].

John XXII. accuſed of hereſy.

IX. The numerous tribes of the *Fratricelli*, *Beghards*, and *Spiritual Franciſcans*, adhered to the party of LEWIS. Supported by his patronage, and diſperſed throughout the greateſt part of *Europe*, they attacked every where the reigning pontif, as an enemy to the true religion, and loaded him with the heavieſt accuſations and the bittereſt invectives, both in their writings and in their ordinary converſation. Theſe attacks did not greatly affect the pontif, as they were made only by private perſons, by a ſet of obſcure monks, who, in many reſpects, were unworthy of his notice; but, towards the concluſion of his life, he incurred the diſapprobation and cenſures of almoſt the whole Catholic church. For in the

[*p*] The particulars of this violent quarrel may be learnt from the *Records* publiſhed by STEPH. BALUZ. in his *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 512. *ſ.*—EDM. MARTENE, *Theſaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 641. *ſ.*—JO. GEORG. HERWART, *in Ludovico Imperatore defenſo contra Bzovium, Monachii* 1618, in 4to, et CHRIST. GEWALD. *in Apologia pro Ludovico Bavaro, Ingoldſtad* 1618, in 4to, againſt the ſame BZOVIUS, who, in the Annals he had publiſhed, baſely aſperſed the memory of the emperor. See alſo LUC. WADDINGUS in *Annalib. Minor.* tom. vii. p. 77. 106. *ſ.* &c. Whoever attentively peruſes the hiſtory of this war, will perceive that LEWIS of *Bavaria* followed the example of PHILIP the Fair, king of *France*. As PHILIP brought an accuſation of hereſy againſt BONIFACE, ſo did LEWIS with reſpect to JOHN XXII. The French monarch made uſe of NOGARET and other accuſers againſt the one pontif. LEWIS employed OCCAM and the Franciſcans in that quality againſt the other. Each of them inſiſted upon the aſſembling a general council, and upon the depoſition of the pontifs who had incurred their diſpleaſure. I omit other circumſtances that might be alleged to render the parallel more ſtriking.

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year 1331 and 1332, having aſſerted, in ſome public diſcourſes, that the ſouls of the faithful, in their intermediate ſtate, were permitted to behold CHRIST as man, but not the *face of God*, or the divine nature, before their re-union with the body at the laſt day, this doctrine highly offended PHILIP VI., king of *France*, was oppoſed by the pope's friends as well as by his enemies, and unanimouſly condemned by the divines of *Paris*, in the year 1333. This favourite tenet of the pope was thus ſeverely treated, becauſe it ſeemed highly prejudicial to the felicity of happy ſpirits in their unembodied ſtate; otherwiſe the point might have been yielded to a man of his poſitive temper, without any material conſequence. Alarmed by theſe vigorous proceedings, he immediately offered ſomething by way of excuſe for having eſpouſed this opinion; and afterwards, in the year 1334, when he lay at the point of death, though he did not entirely renounce, he, in ſome meaſure, ſoftened it, by ſaying he believed that the unembodied ſouls of the righteous *beheld the divine eſſence as far as their ſeparate ſtate and condition would permit* [q]. This declaration did not ſatisfy his adverſaries; hence his ſucceſſor, BENEDICT XII., after many diſputes had been held about it, put an end to this controverſy by an unanimous reſolution of the Pariſian doctors, ordering it to be received as an article of faith, that the ſouls of the bleſſed, during their intermediate ſtate, did fully and perfectly contemplate the

[q] See STEPH. BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 175. 177. 182. 197. 221. 786, &c.—LUC. DACHERII *Spicil. Scriptor. Veter.* tom. i. p. 760. *ed. Vet.*—Jo. LAUNOII *Hiſtoria Gymnaſ. Navarreni*, part I. cap. vii. p. 319. tom. iv. part I. opp.—BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 235. 250.—LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 371. tom. vii. p. 145.—JAC. ECHARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 599. 608.

divine

divine nature [*r*]. BENEDICT's publishing this resolution could be in no way injurious to the memory of JOHN; for when the latter lay upon his death-bed, he submitted his opinion to the judgment of the church, that he might not be deemed a *heretic* after his decease [*s*].

Benedict XII.

X. JOHN dying in the year 1334, new contentions arose in the conclave between the French and Italian cardinals about the election of a pope; but towards the end of the year they chose JAMES FOURNIER, a Frenchman, and cardinal of *St. Prisca*, who took the name of BENEDICT XII. The writers of these times represent him as a man of great probity, who was neither chargeable with that avarice, nor that ambition, that dishonoured so many of his predecessors [*t*]. He put an end to the papal quarrel with the emperor LEWIS: and though he did not restore him to the communion of the church, because prevented, as it is said, by the king of *France*, yet he did not attempt any thing against him. He carefully attended to the grievances of the church, redressed them as far as was in his power, endeavoured to reform the fundamental laws of the monastic societies, whether of the mendicant, or more opulent orders; and died in the year 1342, while he was laying the most noble schemes for promoting

[*r*] BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 197. 216. 221. 224. 236.

☞ [*s*] All this pope's heretical fancies about the *Beatific Vision* were nothing in comparison with a vile and most enormous *practical heresy* that was found in his coffers after his death, *viz.* five and twenty millions of florins, of which there were eighteen in *specie*, and the rest in plate, jewels, crowns, mitres, and other precious baubles, all which he had squeezed out of the people and the inferior clergy during his pontificate. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. xciv. § XXXIX.

[*t*] See the *Fragmenta Histor. Roman. in* MURATORII *Antiquit. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 275.—BALUZII *Vit. Pont. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 205. 218. 240, &c.—BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 253.

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a yet more extenſive reformation. In ſhort, if we overlook his ſuperſtition, the prevailing blemiſh of this barbarous age, it muſt be allowed that he was a man of integrity and merit.

Clement VI.

XI. He was ſucceeded by a man of a quite different diſpoſition, CLEMENT VI., a native of *France*, whoſe name was PETER ROGER, and who was cardinal of *St. Nereus* and *St. Achilles*, before his elevation to the pontificate. Not to inſiſt upon the moſt unexceptionable parts of this pontif's conduct, we ſhall only obſerve that he trod faithfully in the ſteps of JOHN XXII., in *providing* for vacant churches and biſhoprics, by *reſerving* to himſelf the diſpoſal of them, which ſhewed his ſordid and inſatiable avarice; that he conferred eccleſiaſtical dignities and benefices of the higheſt conſequence upon ſtrangers and Italians, which drew upon him the warm diſpleaſure of the kings of *England* and *France*; and laſtly, that by renewing the diſſenſions that had formerly ſubſiſted between LEWIS of *Bavaria* and the Roman ſee, he diſplayed to the world his exceſſive vanity and ambition in the moſt odious colours. In the year 1343, he aſſailed the emperor with his thundering edicts; and when he heard that they were treated by that prince with the utmoſt contempt, his rage augmented, and he not only threw out new maledictions, and publiſhed new ſentences of excommunication againſt him, in the year 1346, but alſo excited the German princes to elect HENRY VII., ſon to CHARLES IV., emperor in his place. This violent meaſure would infallibly have occaſioned a civil war in *Germany*, had it not been prevented by the death of LEWIS, in the year 1347. CLEMENT did not long ſurvive him, for he died in the year 1352, famous for nothing but his exceſſive zeal for extending the papal authority, and for his having added *Avignon*, which he purchaſed of JOAN, queen of *Naples*, to the patrimony of *St. Peter*.

XII.

XII. His ſucceſſor INNOCENT VI., whoſe name was STEPHEN ALBERT, was much more remarkable for integrity and moderation. He was a Frenchman, and before his election had been biſhop of *Oſtia*. He died in the year 1362, after having governed the church ten years. His greateſt blemiſh was, that he promoted his relations with an exceſſive partiality, but in other reſpects he was a man of merit, and a great encourager of pious and learned men. He kept the monks cloſely to their duty, carefully abſtained from *reſerving churches*, and, by many good actions, acquired a great and deſerved reputation. He was ſucceeded by WILLIAM GRIMOARD, abbot of *St. Victor* at *Marſeilles*, who took the name of URBAN V., and was entirely free from all the groſſer vices, if we except thoſe which cannot eaſily be ſeparated from the papal dignity. This pope, being prevailed on by the intreaties of the Romans, returned to *Rome* in the year 1367, but, in 1370, he came back to *Avignon*, to reconcile the differences that had ariſen between the kings of *England* and *France*, and died there the ſame year. Innocent VI. Urban V.

XIII. He was ſucceeded by PETER ROGER, a French eccleſiaſtic of illuſtrious deſcent, who aſſumed the name of GREGORY XI., a man, who, though inferior to his predeceſſors in virtue, exceeded them far in courage and aſſurance. In his time *Italy* in general, and the city of *Rome* in particular, was diſtreſſed with moſt outrageous and formidable tumults. The Florentines carried on ſucceſsfully a terrible war againſt the eccleſiaſtical ſtate [*u*]. Upon which GREGORY, in hopes of quieting the diſorders of *Italy*, and alſo of re- Gregory XI.

[*u*] See, chiefly, COLUZII SALUTATI *Epiſtolæ*, written in the name of the Florentines, part I. p. 47—100. p. 148. 162. See alſo *Præfat.* ad part II. p. xviii. the new Florentine edition by LAUR. MEHUS.

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covering the cities and territories, which had been taken from *St. Peter's patrimony*, transferred the papal ſeat from *Avignon* to *Rome*, in the year 1376. To this he was in a great meaſure determined by the advice of one CATHARINE, a virgin of *Sens*, who, in this credulous age, was thought to be inſpired with the ſpirit of prophecy, and made a journey to *Avignon* on purpoſe to perſuade him to take this ſtep [*w*]. It was not, however, long before GREGORY repented that he had followed her advice: for by the long abſence of the popes from *Italy*, their authority was reduced to ſuch a low ebb, that the Romans and Florentines made no ſcruple to inſult him with the groſſeſt abuſe, which made him reſolve to return to *Avignon*; but before he could execute his determination he was taken off by death, in the year 1378.

A great ſchiſm ariſes in the Romiſh church.

XIV. After the death of GREGORY XI., the cardinals aſſembled to conſult about chooſing a ſucceſſor, when the people of *Rome*, fearing leſt the vacant dignity ſhould be conferred on a Frenchman, came in a tumultuous manner to the conclave, and with great clamours, accompanied with many outrageous threatenings, inſiſted that an Italian ſhould be advanced to the popedom. The cardinals, terrified by this uproar, immediately proclaimed BARTHOLOMEW DE PREGNANO, who was a Neapolitan, and archbiſhop of *Bari*, and aſſumed the name of URBAN VI. This new pontif, by his unpolite behaviour, injudicious ſeverity, and intolerable arrogance, had made himſelf many enemies among people of all ranks, and eſpecially among the leading cardinals. Theſe latter therefore, tired of his inſolence, withdrew from *Rome* to *Anagni*, and from thence to *Fondi*, a city in the kingdom of *Naples*, where they

[*w*] See LONGUEVAL, *Hiſt. de l'Egliſe Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 159. 192.

elected

elected to the pontificate ROBERT count of *Geneva*, who took the name of CLEMENT VII., and declared at the same time, that the election of URBAN was nothing more than a mere ceremony, which they had found themselves obliged to perform, in order to calm the turbulent rage of the populace. Which of these two is to be considered as the true and lawful pope, is, to this day, matter of doubt; nor will the *records* and writings, alleged by the contending parties, enable us to adjust that point with any certainty [*x*]. URBAN remained at *Rome*: CLEMENT went to *Avignon* in *France*. His cause was espoused by *France* and *Spain*, *Scotland*, *Sicily*, and *Cyprus*, while all the rest of *Europe* acknowledged URBAN to be the true vicar of CHRIST.

Its bad consequences.

XV. Thus the union of the Latin church under one head was destroyed at the death of GREGORY XI., and was succeeded by that deplorable dissension, commonly known by the name of the *great western schism* [*y*]. This dissension was fomented with such dreadful success, and arose to such a shameful height, that, for the space of

[*x*] See the acts and documents in CÆS. EGASS. DE BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 463. *f.*—LUC. WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ix. p. 12. *f.*—STEPH. BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 442. 998. *f.*—*Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. *April.* p. 728. I have also some documents never yet published, which throw great light upon this controversy, though they do not absolutely determine the point in dispute.

[*y*] An account of this dissension may be seen in PIERRE DU PUY, *Histoire Generale du Schisme qui a été en l'Eglise depuis l'An.* 1378. *jusqu'en l'An.* 1428, which, as we are informed in the *Preface*, was compiled from the Royal Records of *France*, and is entirely worthy of credit. Nor should we wholly reject LEWIS MAIMBOURG's *Histoire du grand Schisme d'Occident*, though in general it be deeply tainted with the leaven of party spirit. A great many documents are to be met with in BOULAY. *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. and v. and also in EDM. MARTENE, *Thesauri Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 1074. I always pass over the common writers upon this subject, such as ALEXANDER, RAYNALD, BZOVIUS, SPONDANUS, and DU PIN.

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fifty years, the church had two or three different heads at the ſame time; each of the contending popes forming plots, and thundering out anathemas againſt their competitors. The diſtreſs and calamity of theſe times is beyond all power of deſcription; for, not to inſiſt upon the perpetual contentions and wars between the factions of the ſeveral popes, by which multitudes loſt their fortunes and lives, all ſenſe of religion was extinguiſhed in moſt places, and profligacy roſe to a moſt ſcandalous exceſs. The clergy, while they vehemently contended which of the reigning popes was the true ſucceſſor of CHRIST, were ſo exceſſively corrupt, as to be no longer ſtudious to keep up even an appearance of religion or decency: and in conſequence of all this, many plain well-meaning people, who concluded that no one could poſſibly partake of eternal life, unleſs united with the vicar of CHRIST, were overwhelmed with doubt, and plunged into the deepeſt diſtreſs of mind [z]. Nevertheleſs theſe abuſes were, by their conſequences, greatly conducive both to the civil and religious intereſts of mankind; for by theſe diſſenſions the papal power received an incurable wound; and kings and princes, who had formerly been the ſlaves of the lordly pontifs, now became their judges and maſters. And many of the leaſt ſtupid among the people had the courage to diſregard and deſpiſe the popes on account of their odious diſputes about dominion, to commit their ſalvation to God alone, and to admit it as a maxim, that the proſperity of the church might be maintained and the intereſts of religion ſecured and promoted without a viſible head, crowned with a ſpiritual ſupremacy.

[z] Concerning the miſchievous conſequences of this ſchiſm, we have a large account in the *Hiſtoire du droit public Eccleſ. François*, tom. ii. p. 166. 193. 202. *ſ.*

XVI.

XVI. The Italian cardinals attached to the intereſts of URBAN VI., upon the death of that pope in the year 1389, ſet up for his ſucceſſor, at *Rome*, PETER THOMACELLI, a Neapolitan, who took the name of BONIFACE IX., and CLEMENT VII., dying in the year 1394, the French cardinals raiſed to the pontificate PETER DE LUNA, a Spaniard, who aſſumed the name of BENEDICT XIII. During theſe tranſactions various methods were propoſed and attempted for healing this melancholy breach in the church. Kings and princes, biſhops and divines, appeared with zeal in this ſalutary project. It was generally thought that the beſt courſe to be taken in this matter was, what they then ſtyled, the *Method of ceſſion*: but neither of the popes could be prevailed on, either by entreaties or threatenings, to give up the pontificate. The Gallican church, highly incenſed at this obſtinacy, renounced ſolemnly, in a council held at *Paris* in the year 1397, all ſubjection and obedience to both pontifs; and, upon the publication of this reſolution in the year 1398, BENEDICT XIII. was, by the expreſs orders of CHARLES VI., detained priſoner in his palace at *Avignon* [*a*].

Propoſals for aboliſhing the ſchiſm.

XVII. Some of the popes, and eſpecially BENEDICT XII., were perfectly acquainted with the prevailing vices and ſcandalous conduct of the greateſt part of the monks, which they zealouſly endeavoured to rectify and remove: but the diſorder was too inveterate to admit of a cure. The *Mendicants*, and more eſpecially the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*, were at the head of the monaſtic orders, and were, indeed, become the heads of the church; ſo extenſive was the influence they had acquired, that all matters of importance,

The enormities of the monks, eſpecially of the Mendicants.

[*a*] Beſides the common hiſtorians, and LONGUEVAL's *Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe Gallicane*, tom. xiv. ſee the *Acts* of this council in BOULAY's *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 829.

both

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both in the court of *Rome* and in the cabinets of princes, were carried on under their ſupreme and abſolute direction. The multitude had ſuch a high notion of the ſanctity of theſe *ſturdy beggars*, and of their credit with the Supreme Being, that great numbers of both ſexes, ſome in health, others in a ſtate of infirmity, others at the point of death, earneſtly deſired to be admitted into the *Mendicant* order, which they looked upon as a ſure and infallible method of rendering heaven propitious. Many made it an eſſential part of their laſt wills, that their carcaſſes, after death, ſhould be wrapped in old, ragged Dominican or Franciſcan habits, and interred among the Mendicants. For ſuch was the barbarous ſuperſtition and wretched ignorance of this age, that people univerſally believed they ſhould readily obtain mercy from CHRIST, at the day of judgment, if they appeared before his tribunal aſſociated with the Mendicant friars.

They fall under a general odium.

XVIII. The high eſteem in which the Mendicant orders were held, and the exceſſive degree of authority they had acquired, only ſerved to render them ſtill more odious to ſuch as had hitherto been their enemies, and to draw upon them new marks of jealouſy and hatred from the higher and lower clergy, the monaſtic ſocieties, and the public univerſities. So univerſal was this odium, that there was ſcarcely a province or univerſity in *Europe* in which biſhops, clergy, and doctors were not warmly engaged in oppoſition to the Dominicans and Franciſcans, who employed the power and authority they had received from the popes, in undermining the ancient diſcipline of the church, and aſſuming to themſelves a certain ſuperintendence in religious matters. In *England*, the univerſity of *Oxford* made a reſolute ſtand againſt the encroachments of the Dominicans,

Dominicans [*b*], while RICHARD, archbiſhop of *Armagh*, HENRY CRUMP, NORIS, and others, attacked all the Mendicant orders with great vehemence and ſeverity [*c*]. But RICHARD, whoſe animoſity againſt them was much keener than that of their other antagoniſts, went to the court of INNOCENT VI., in the year 1356, and there vindicated the cauſe of the church againſt them with the greateſt fervour, both in his writings and diſcourſe, until the year 1360, in which he died [*d*]. They had alſo many opponents in *France*, who, together with the univerſity of *Paris*, were ſecretly engaged in contriving means to overturn their exorbitant power: but JOHN DE POLLIAC ſet himſelf openly againſt them, publicly denying the validity of the abſolution granted by the Dominicans and Franciſcans to thoſe who confeſſed to them, maintaining, that the popes were diſabled from granting them a power of abſolution by the authority of the *canon*, entitled, *Omnis utriuſque ſexus*; and proving from theſe premiſes, that all thoſe, who would be ſure of their ſalvation, ought to confeſs their ſins to their own pariſh prieſts, even though they had been abſolved by the monks. They ſuffered little or nothing, however, from the efforts of theſe numerous adverſaries, being reſolutely protected againſt all oppoſition, whether open or ſecret, by the popes, who regarded them as their beſt

[*b*] See ANT. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 150. 154. 196, &c.

[*c*] See WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 181, 182. tom. ii. p. 61, 62. - BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 338. 950. - BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 336.—WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 126.

[*d*] See SIMON, *Lettres Choiſies*, tom. i. p. 164.—I have in my poſſeſſion a manuſcript treatiſe of BARTHOLOMEW DE BRISAC, entitled, *Solutiones oppoſitæ Ricardi, Armachani epiſcopi, propoſitionibus contra Mendicantes in curia Romana coram Pontifice et cardinalibus factis, Anno* 1360.

friends,

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friends, and moſt effectual ſupports. Accordingly, JOHN XXII., by an extraordinary decree, condemned the opinions of JOHN DE POLLIAC, in the year 1321 [*e*].

John Wickliff.

XIX. But among all the enemies of the Mendicant orders, none has been tranſmitted to poſterity with more exalted encomiums on the one hand, or blacker calumnies on the other, than JOHN WICKLIFF, an Engliſh doctor, profeſſor of divinity at *Oxford*, and afterwards rector of *Lutterworth*; who, according to the teſtimony of the writers of theſe times, was a man of an enterpriſing genius and extraordinary learning. In the year 1360, animated by the example of RICHARD, archbiſhop of *Armagh*, he firſt of all defended the ſtatutes and privileges of the univerſity of *Oxford* againſt all the orders of the Mendicants, and had the courage to throw out ſome ſlight reproofs againſt the popes, their principal patrons, which no true Briton ever imputed to him as a crime. After this, in the year 1367, he was deprived of the wardenſhip of *Canterbury-Hall* in the univerſity of *Oxford*, by SIMON LANGHAM, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who ſubſtituted a monk in his place; upon which he appealed to pope URBAN V., who confirmed the ſentence of the archbiſhop againſt him, on account of the freedom with which he had inveighed againſt the monaſtic orders. Highly exaſperated at this treatment, he threw off all reſtraint, and not only attacked all the monks, and their ſcandalous irregularities, but even the pontifical power itſelf,

[*e*] See Jo. LAUNOIUS, *De Canone: Omnis utriuſque Sexus*, tom. i. part I. opp. p. 271. 274. 287, &c.—BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 10. & *Miſcellanor.* tom. i. p. 153.—DACHERII *Spicil. Scriptor. Veter.* tom. i. p. 112. *f.*—It was publiſhed by EDM. MARTENE, *in Theſauro Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 1368. See alſo BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 132. 182, &c

and

and other eccleſiaſtical abuſes, both in his ſermons and writings. From hence he proceeded to yet greater lengths, and, deteſting the wretched ſuperſtition of the times, refuted, with great acuteneſs and ſpirit, the abſurd notions that were generally received in religious matters, and not only exhorted the laity to ſtudy the ſcriptures, but alſo tranſlated into Engliſh theſe divine books, in order to render the peruſal of them more univerſal. Though neither the doctrine of WICKLIFF was void of error, nor his life without reproach, yet it muſt be confeſſed that the changes he attempted to introduce, both in the faith and diſcipline of the church, were, in many reſpects, wiſe, uſeful, and ſalutary [*f*].

His adverſaries.

XX. The monks, whom WICKLIFF had principally exaſperated, commenced a violent proſecution againſt him at the court of GREGORY XI., who, in the year 1377, ordered SIMON SUDBURY, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to take cognizance of the affair in the council held at *London*. Imminent as this danger evidently was, WICKLIFF eſcaped it by the intereſt of the duke of *Lancaſter*, and ſome other peers, who had an high regard for him. And ſoon after the death of GREGORY XI., the fatal ſchiſm of the Romiſh church commenced, during which there was one pope at *Rome*, and another at *Avignon*; ſo that of courſe this controverſy lay dormant a long time. But no ſooner was this embroiled ſtate of affairs tolerably ſettled, than the proceſs againſt him was revived by WILLIAM DE COURTENEY, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1385, and was carried on with great vehemence in two councils held at

[*f*] A work of his was publiſhed at *Leipſic* and *Francfort*, in 4to, in the year 1753, entitled *Dialogorum Libri quatuor*, which, though it does not contain all the branches of his doctrine, yet ſhews ſufficiently the ſpirit of the man, and his way of thinking in general.

London

London and *Oxford*. The event was, that of the *twenty-three* opinions, for which WICKLIFE had been profecuted by the monks, *ten* were condemned as hereſies, and *thirteen* as errors [*g*]. He himſelf, however, returned in ſafety to *Lutterworth*; where he died peaceably in the year 1387. This latter attack was much more dangerous than the former; but by what means he got ſafely through it, whether by the intereſt of the court, or by denying or abjuring his opinions, is to this day a ſecret [*h*]. He left many followers in *England*, and other countries, who were ſtyled *Wickliffites* and *Lollards*, which laſt was a term of popular reproach tranſlated from the Fle-

☞ [*g*] In the original Dr. MOSHEIM ſays, that, of eighteen articles imputed to WICKLIFF, nine were condemned as *hereſies*, and fifteen as *errors*. This contradiction, which we have taken the liberty to correct in the text, is perhaps an overſight of the learned author, who may have confounded the eighteen hereſies and errors that were enumerated and refuted by WILLIAM WODFORD, in a letter to ARUNDEL archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the twenty-three propoſitions that had been condemned by his predeceſſor COURTNEY at *London*, of which ten were pronounced *heretical*, and thirteen *erroneous*. See the very curious collection of pieces, entitled *Faſciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum* ORTHUINI GRATII, publiſhed firſt at *Cologn*, by the compiler in the year 1535, and afterwards at *London* in 1690, with an additional volume of ancient pieces and fragments by the learned Mr. EDWARD BROWN. The letter of WODFORD is at full length in the firſt volume of this collection, p. 191.

[*h*] We have a full and complete *Hiſtory of the Life and Sufferings of* JOHN WICKLIFF, publiſhed in 8vo at *London* in the year 1720, by Mr. JOHN LEWES, who alſo publiſhed, in the year 1731, WICKLIFF's Engliſh tranſlation of the *New Teſtament* from the Latin verſion, called the *Vulgate*. This tranſlation is enriched with a learned *Preface* by the editor, in which he enlarges upon the life, actions, and ſufferings of that eminent reformer. The pieces, relative to the controverſies which were ſet on foot by the doctrines of WICKLIFF, are to be found in the learned work of WILKINS, entitled *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hibern.* tom. iii. p. 116. 156.—See alſo BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 450.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiqq. Oxonienſ.* tom. i. p. 183. 186, & paſſim.

miſh

miſh tongue into Engliſh. Wherever they could be found, they were terribly perſecuted by the *inquiſitors*, and other inſtruments of papal vengeance, and, in the council of *Conſtance*, in the year 1415, the memory and opinions of WICKLIFF were condemned by a ſolemn decree: and about thirteen years after, his bones were dug up, and publicly burnt.

The impiety of the Franciſcans.

XXI. Notwithſtanding the Mendicants were thus vigorouſly attacked on all ſides, by ſuch a conſiderable number of ingenious and learned adverſaries, they could not be perſuaded to abate any thing of their exceſſive pride, to ſet bounds to their ſuperſtition, or to deſiſt from impoſing upon the multitude, but were as diligent as ever in propagating opinions highly detrimental to religion in general, and particularly injurious to the majeſty of the Supreme Being. The Franciſcans, forgetting, in their enthuſiaſtic frenzy, the veneration they owed to the Son of God, and animated with a mad zeal for advancing the glory of their order and its founder, impiouſly maintained, that the latter was a *ſecond* CHRIST, in all reſpects ſimilar to the *firſt*; and that their inſtitution and diſcipline was the true goſpel of JESUS. Yet, ſhocking as theſe fooliſh and impious pretenſions were, the popes were not aſhamed to patronize and encourage them by their letters and mandates, in which they made no ſcruple to aſſert, that the abſurd fable of the *ſtigmas*, or five wounds impreſſed upon FRANCIS by CHRIST himſelf, on mount *Alvernus*, was worthy of credit, becauſe matter of undoubted fact [*i*]. Nor was this

[*i*] The ſtory of the *marks*, or *ſtigmas*, impreſſed on FRANCIS, is well known, as are alſo the letters of the Roman pontifs, which enjoin the belief of it, and which WADDING has collected with great care, and publiſhed in his *Annales Minorum*, tom.

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this all; for they not only permitted to be publiſhed without any mark of their diſapprobation, but approved, and even recommended, an impious piece, ſtuffed with tales yet more improbable and ridiculous than either of the above-mentioned fictions, and entitled, *The book of the conformities of St. Francis with* JESUS CHRIST, which was compoſed, in the year 1383, by BARTHOLOMEW ALBIZI, a Franciſcan of *Piſa*, with the applauſe of his order. This infamous tract, in which the Son of God is put upon a level with a wretched mortal, is an eternal monument of the outrageous enthuſiaſm and abominable arrogance of the Franciſcan order; and not leſs ſo of the

The Book of the conformities of St. Francis.

tom. viii. & ix. The Dominicans formerly made a public jeſt of this ridiculous fable, but, being awed into ſilence by the papal bulls, they are now obliged to deride it in ſecret, while the Franciſcans, on the other hand, continue to propagate it with the moſt fervent zeal. That St. FRANCIS had upon his body the *marks* or impreſſions of the five great wounds of CHRIST, is not to be doubted, ſince this is a fact proved by a great number of unexceptionable witneſſes. But, as he was a moſt ſuperſtitious and fanatical mortal, it is undoubtedly evident, that he *imprinted* on himſelf theſe *holy* wounds, that he might reſemble CHRIST, and bear about in his body a perpetual memorial of the Redeemer's ſufferings. It was cuſtomary in theſe times, for ſuch as were willing to be thought more pious than others, to imprint upon their bodies *marks* of this kind, that, having thus continually before them a lively repreſentation of the death of CHRIST, they might preſerve a becoming ſenſe of it on their minds. The words of St. PAUL, *Galat.* vi. 17. were ſufficient to confirm in this wretched deluſion, an ignorant and ſuperſtitious age, in which the ſcriptures were neither ſtudied nor underſtood. A long liſt of theſe *ſtigmatiſed fanatics* might be extracted from the *Acta Sanctorum*, and other records of this and the following century; nor is this ancient piece of ſuperſtition entirely aboliſhed, even in our times. Be that as it may, the Franciſcan monks, having found theſe *marks* upon the dead body of their founder, took this occaſion of making him appear to the world as honoured by heaven above the reſt of mortals, and invented, for this purpoſe, the ſtory of CHRIST's having miraculouſly transferred his wounds to him.

exceſſive

exceſſive imprudence of the popes in extolling and recommending it [*k*].

The enormities of the Fratricelli.

XXII. The Franciſcans, who adhered to the genuine and auſtere rule of their founder, and oppoſed the popes, who attempted to mitigate the ſeverity of its injunctions, were not a whit wiſer than thoſe of the order, who acknowledged the juriſdiction and reſpected the deciſions of the Roman pontifs. By theſe antipapal Franciſcans, I mean the *Fratricelli* or Minorites, and the Tertiaries of that order, otherwiſe called *Beghards*, together with the *Spirituals*, who reſided principally in *France*, and embraced the opinions of PIERRE D'OLIVE. Theſe monaſtic factions were turbulent and ſeditious beyond expreſſion; they gave incredible vexation to the popes, and for a long time diſturbed, wherever they went, the tranquillity both of church and ſtate. About the beginning of this century [*l*], the leſs auſtere Franciſcans were outrageous in their reſentment againſt the *Fratricelli*, who had deſerted their com-

[*k*] Concerning ALBIZI in his book, ſee WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ix. p. 158.—J. A. FABRICII *Biblioth. Lat. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 131.—SCHELHORNII *Amœn Litter.* tom. iii. p. 160.—BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article FRANCIS, and the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hiſt. Crit.* tom. i. at the article ALBIZI, p. 217. ERASMUS ALBERT made ſeveral extracts from this book, and publiſhed them under the title of the *Alcoran of the Franciſcans*, which was frequently printed in Latin, German, and French; and, in the year 1734, was publiſhed at *Amſterdam* in two volumes 8vo, in French and Latin, with elegant cuts.

☞ The *Conformities* between CHRIST and St. FRANCIS are carried to forty in the book of ALBIZI, but they are multiplied to 4000 by a Spaniſh monk of the order of Obſervants, in a book publiſhed at *Madrid* in the year 1651, under the following title, *Prodigioſum Naturæ et Gratiæ Portentum.* The *Conformities* mentioned by PEDRO DE ALVA ASTORGA, the auſtere author of this moſt ridiculous book, are whimſical beyond expreſſion. See the *Bibliotheque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, tom. iv. p. 318.

[*l*] In the year 1306 and 1307.

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munion [*m*]; upon which, ſuch of the latter, as had the good fortune to eſcape the fury of their perſecutors, retired into *France* in the year 1307, and aſſociated themſelves with the *Spirituals* or followers of PIERRE D'OLIVE in *Provence*, who had alſo formerly abandoned the ſociety. Soon after this, the whole Franciſcan order, in *France*, *Italy*, and other countries, was divided into two parties. The one, which embraced the ſevere diſcipline and abſolute poverty of St. FRANCIS, were called *Spirituals*; the other, which inſiſted upon mitigating the auſtere injunctions of their founder, were ſtyled the *Brethren of the community*. The latter, being by far the moſt numerous and powerful, exerted themſelves to the utmoſt to oppreſs the former, whoſe faction as yet was but weak, and, as it were, in its infancy; but, notwithſtanding this, they cheerfully ſubmitted to theſe hardſhips, rather than return to the ſociety of thoſe who had deſerted the rules of their maſter. Pope CLEMENT V., having drawn the leaders of theſe two parties to his court, took great pains to compoſe their diſſenſions; nevertheleſs, his pacific ſcheme advanced but ſlowly, on account of the inflexible obſtinacy of each ſect, and the great number of their mutual accuſations. In the mean while, the *Spirituals of Tuſcany*, inſtead of waiting for the deciſion of his holineſs, choſe themſelves a preſident, and inferior officers; while thoſe of *France*, being in the neighbourhood of *Avignon*, patiently expected the papal determination [*n*].

Deliberations about compoſing the differences among the Franciſcans.

XXIII. After many deliberations, CLEMENT V., in a general council held at *Vienne*, in *Dauphine*,

[*m*] WADDINGI *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. *ad An.* 1307, p. 91.

[*n*] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. iv. 1310, p. 172.—ECCARDI *Corpus Hiſtor. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1480.—BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 129.—ECHARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 508, 509.

phine, where he iſſued out the famous bull, *Exivi de paradiſo* [*o*], propoſed an expedient for healing the breach between the jarring parties, by wiſe conceſſions on both ſides. He gave up many points to the *Spirituals*, or rigid Franciſcans, enjoining upon the whole order the profeſſion of *abſolute poverty*, according to their primitive rule, and the ſolemn *renunciation of all property, whether common or perſonal*, confining them to what was neceſſary for their *immediate ſubſiſtence*, and allowing them, even for that, a very *ſcanty pittance*. He however, on the other hand, permitted the Franciſcans, who lived in places where it was extremely difficult to procure by begging the neceſſaries of life, to erect *granaries* and *ſtorehouſes*, where they might depoſit a part of their alms as a *ſtock* in caſe of want; and ordered that all ſuch *granaries* and *ſtorehouſes* ſhould be under the inſpection and management of overſeers and ſtorekeepers, who were to determine what quantity of proviſions ſhould be laid up in them. And finally, in order to ſatisfy the *brethren of the community*, he condemned ſome opinions of PIERRE D'OLIVE [*p*]. Theſe proceedings ſilenced the monaſtic commotions in *France*; but the Tuſcan and Italian *Spirituals* were ſo exceedingly perverſe and obſtinate, that they could not be brought to conſent to any method of reconciliation. At length, in the year 1313, many of them, not thinking themſelves any longer ſafe in *Italy*, went into *Sicily*, where they met with a very friendly reception from king FREDERIC, the nobility, and biſhops [*q*].

[*o*] This bull is inſerted in the *Jus Canonicum inter Clementinas*, tit. xi. *De verbor. ſignif.* tom. ii. p. 1095. edit. *Bohmeri*.

[*p*] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vi. p. 194. 197. 199.

[*q*] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vi. p. 213, 214.—BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 152. 165.—ARGENTRE, *Collectio judicior. de novis error.* tom. i. p. 392. *ſ.*

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XXIV. Upon the death of CLEMENT V., the tumult, which had been appeaſed by his authority, was revived in *France* with as much fury as ever. For, in the year 1314, an hundred and twenty of the *Spirituals* made a violent attack upon the *Brethren of the community*, drove them out of the convents of *Narbonne* and *Beziers* by force of arms, and inflamed the quarrel in a yet higher degree by laying aſide their ancient habits, and aſſuming ſuch as were ſhort, ſtrait, and coarſe. They were ſoon joined by a conſiderable number from other provinces, and the citizens of *Narbonne*, where OLIVE was interred, enliſted themſelves in the party. JOHN XXII., who was raiſed to the pontificate in the year 1317, took great pains to heal this new diſorder. The firſt thing he did for this purpoſe was to publiſh a ſpecial bull, by which he ordered the abolition of the *Fratricelli*, or *Minorites*, and their *Tertiaries*, whether *Beguines* or *Beghards*, who were a body diſtinct from the *Spirituals* [r]. In the next place, he admoniſhed the king of *Sicily* to expel all the *Spirituals* who had taken refuge in his dominions [s]: and then ordered the French *Spirituals* to appear at *Avignon*; where he exhorted them to return to their duty; and, as the firſt ſtep to it, to lay aſide *their ſhort, ſtrait habits with the ſmall hoods*. The greateſt part of them obeyed; but FR. BERNARD DELITIOSI, who was the head of the faction, and twenty-four of the Brethren, boldly refuſed to ſubmit to the injunction. In vindication of their conduct, they alleged that the rules preſcribed by St. FRANCIS were the ſame with the goſpel of JESUS CHRIST; that the popes therefore had no authority to alter them; that

[r] This law is called *Sancta Romana*, &c. and is to be found among the *Extravagantes Johannis* XXII., tit. vii. *De religioſis domibus*, tom. ii. *Jur. Canon.* p. 1112.

[s] WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 265. *ſ.*

the

the popes had acted sinfully in permitting the Franciscans to have *granaries* and *store-houses*; and that they added to their guilt in not allowing those habits to be worn that were enjoined by St. FRANCIS. JOHN, highly exasperated by this opposition, gave orders that these obstinate Brethren should be proceeded against as *heretics*. And surely nothing could make them appear *viler heretics* in the papal eye, than their daring thus audaciously to oppose the authority and majesty of the Roman see. As for F. DELITIOSI, who was at the head of this sect, and who is sometimes called DELLI CONSI, he was imprisoned, and died in his confinement. Four of his adherents were condemned to the flames, in the year 1318, at *Marseilles* [*t*], which odious sentence was accordingly executed without mercy.

The ridiculous disputes of the Franciscans.

XXV. Thus these unhappy friars, and many more of their fraternity, who were afterwards cut off by this cruel persecution, suffered merely for their contempt of the decisions of the pontifs, and for maintaining that the institute of St. FRANCIS, their founder, which they imagined he had established under the direction of an immediate inspiration, was the very *Gospel of Christ*, and therefore not to be altered by the pope's authority. The controversy, considered in itself, was rather ridiculous than important, since it did not affect religion in the least, but turned wholly on these two points, the form of the habits to be worn by the Franciscan order, and their *granaries* and *store-houses*. The *Brethren of the community*,

[*t*] BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 116. tom. ii. p. 341. et *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 195. 272. WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 267. *s.* 316. *s.* MARTENE *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 175. MARTINUS *Fuldensis*, in ECCARDI *Corpore Histor. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1725. et HERM. CORNERUS, *ibid.* tom. ii. p. 981. *Histoire generale de Languedoc*, tom. iv. p. 179. *s.* ARGENTRE *Collectio Judicior. de nobis errorib.* tom. i. p. 294. *s.*

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or the leſs rigid Franciſcans, wore long, looſe, and good habits, with ample hoods; but the *Spirituals* went in ſtrait, ſhort, and very coarſe ones, which they aſſerted to be preciſely the dreſs enjoined by the inſtitute of St. FRANCIS, and what therefore no power upon earth had a right to alter. And whereas the *Brethren of the community*, immediately after the harveſt and vintage, were accuſtomed to lay up a ſtock of corn and wine in their granaries and cellars, the *Spiritual* Franciſcans reſolutely oppoſed this practice, as entirely repugnant to the profeſſion of abſolute poverty, that had been embraced by the *Fratricelli* or *Minorites*. In order to put an end to theſe broils, pope JOHN, this very year, publiſhed a long mandatory letter, in which he ordered the contending parties to ſubmit their diſputes, upon the two points above mentioned, to the deciſion of their ſuperiors [*u*].

Excite grievous commotions.

XXVI. The effects of this letter, and of other decrees, were prevented by the unſeaſonable and impious ſeverity of JOHN XXII., whoſe cruelty was condemned and deteſted even by his adherents. For the *Spiritual* Franciſcans and their votaries, being highly exaſperated at the cruel death of their brethren, maintained, that JOHN XXII., by procuring the deſtruction of theſe holy men, had rendered himſelf utterly unworthy of the papal dignity, and was the true *Antichriſt*. They moreover revered their four brethren, who were burnt at *Marſeilles*, as ſo many martyrs, paying religious veneration to their bones and aſhes; and inveighed yet more vehemently than ever againſt *long habits*, *large hoods*, *granaries*, and *ſtore-houſes*. The inquiſitors on the other hand, having, by the pope's order, apprehended as many

[*u*] It may be ſeen in the *Jus Canon.* inter *Extravag. communes de verbor. ſignif.* cap. i. See alſo WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 273.

of

of theſe people as they could find, condemned them to the flames, and ſacrificed them without mercy to papal reſentment and fury. So that from this time a vaſt number of thoſe zealous defenders of the inſtitute of St. FRANCIS. *viz.* the *Minorites*, *Beghards*, and *Spirituals*, were moſt barbarouſly put to death, not only in *France*, but alſo in *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Germany* [*w*].

A new diſpute ariſes concerning the poverty of Chriſt.

XXVII. This dreadful flame continued to ſpread, till it invaded the whole Franciſcan order, which, in the year 1321, had revived the old contentions concerning the poverty of CHRIST and his apoſtles. A certain *Beguin*, or monk of the third order of St. FRANCIS, who was apprehended this year at *Norbonne*, taught, among other things, *That neither Chriſt, nor his apoſtles, ever poſſeſſed any thing, whether in common or perſonally, by right of property or dominion.* JOHN DE BELNA, an inquiſitor of the Dominican order, pronounced this opinion erroneous; but BERENGARIUS TALONI, a Franciſcan, maintained it to be orthodox, and perfectly conſonant to the bull, *Exiit qui ſeminet*, of NICHOLAS III. The judgment of the former was approved by the Dominicans; the determination of the latter was adhered to by the Franciſcans. At length the matter was brought before the pope, who prudently endeavoured to put an end to the diſpute. With this view he called

[*w*] Beſides many other pieces that ſerve to illuſtrate the intricate hiſtory of this perſecution, I have in my poſſeſſion a treatiſe, entitled, *Martyrologium Spiritualium et Fratricellorum*, which was delivered to the tribunal of the inquiſition at *Carcaſſone*, A. D. 1454. It contains the names of an hundred and thirteen perſons of both ſexes, who, from the year 1318, to the time of INNOCENT VI., were burnt in *France* and *Italy*, for their inflexible attachment to the poverty of St. FRANCIS. I reckon that, from theſe and other records, publiſhed and unpubliſhed, we may make out a liſt of two thouſand martyrs of this kind. Compare *Codex Inquiſ. Tholoſanæ*, *à* LIMBORCHIO *editus*, p. 298. 302. 319. 327, &c.

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into his council UBERTINUS DE CASALIS, the patron of the *Spiritual*, and a perſon of great weight and reputation. This eminent monk gave captious, ſubtile, and equivocal anſwers to the queſtions that were propoſed to him. The pontif, however, and the cardinals, perſuaded that his deciſions, equivocal as they were, might contribute to terminate the quarrel, acquieſced in them, ſeconded them with their authority, and enjoined, at the ſame time, ſilence and moderation on the contending parties [*x*].

XXVIII. But the Dominicans and Franciſcans were ſo exceedingly exaſperated againſt each other, that they could by no means be brought to conform themſelves to this order. JOHN XXII., perceiving this, permitted them to renew the controverſy in the year 1322; nay, he himſelf propoſed to ſome of the moſt celebrated divines of the age, and eſpecially to thoſe of *Paris*, the determination of this point, *viz. Whether or no thoſe were to be deemed heretics who maintained that Jeſus Chriſt, and his apoſtles, had no common or perſonal property in any thing they poſſeſſed?* The Franciſcans, who held an aſſembly this year at *Perugia*, having got notice of this proceeding, unanimouſly decreed, that thoſe who held this tenet were not heretics, but maintained an opinion that was holy and orthodox, and perfectly agreeable to the deciſions and mandates of the popes. They alſo ſent a deputy to *Avignon*, to defend this unanimous determination of their whole order againſt all opponents whatever. The perſon they commiſſioned for this purpoſe was F. BONAGRATIA, of *Bergamo*, who alſo went by the name of BONCORTESE [*y*], one of their fraternity, and a man

[*x*] WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 361. STEPH. BALUZII *Miſcellan.* tom. i. p. 307. GERH. DU BOIS, *Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Pariſ.* p. 611. *ſ.*

[*y*] I inſert this caution, becauſe I have obſerved that ſome eminent writers, by not attending to this circumſtance, have taken theſe two names for two different perſons.

famous

famous for his extenſive learning. JOHN XXII., being highly incenſed at this ſtep, iſſued out a decree in the month of November, wherein he eſpouſed an opinion diametrically oppoſite to that of the Franciſcans, and pronounced them heretics, for obſtinately maintaining *that Chriſt, and his apoſtles, had no common or perſonal property in what they poſſeſſed, nor a power of ſelling, or alienating, any part of it.* Soon after he proceeded yet farther, and in another conſtitution, publiſhed in December following, expoſed the weakneſs and inefficacy of thoſe arguments, commonly deduced from a bull of NICHOLAS III., concerning the property of the Franciſcan poſſeſſions being transferred to the church of *Rome*, whereby the monks were ſuppoſed to be deprived of what we call *right*, and were only allowed the *ſimple uſe* of what was neceſſary for their *immediate* ſupport. In order to confute this plea, he ſhewed that it was abſolutely impoſſible to ſeparate *right* and *property* from the *lawful uſe* of ſuch things as were immediately conſumed by that uſe. He alſo ſolemnly renounced all property in the Franciſcan effects, which had been reſerved to the church of *Rome* by former popes, their churches and ſome other things excepted. And whereas the revenues of the order had been hitherto received and adminiſtered by procurators on the part of the Roman church, he diſmiſſed theſe officers, and aboliſhed all the decrees of his predeceſſors, and all the ancient conſtitutions relating to this affair [z].

[z] Theſe conſtitutions are recorded in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* and alſo among the *Extravagantes*, tit. xiv. *de verbor. ſignific.* cap. ii, iii. p. 1121. Concerning the tranſaction itſelf, the reader ſhould chiefly conſult that impartial writer ALVARUS PELAGIUS, *De planctu eccleſiæ*, lib. ii. c. 60. *f.* 145. as alſo LUC. WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 394. *ſ.* Each of them blames JOHN BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 191. *ſ.*

XXIX.

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The quarrel between the Franciſcans and John XXII.

XXIX. By this method of proceeding, the dexterous pontif entirely deſtroy that boaſted *expropriation*, which was the main bulwark of the Franciſcan order, and which its founder had eſteemed the diſtinguiſhing glory of the ſociety. It was therefore natural that theſe meaſures ſhould determine the Franciſcans to an obſtinate reſiſtance. And ſuch indeed was the effect they produced: for, in the year 1323, they ſent their brother BONAGRATIA in quality of legate to the papal court, where he vigorouſly and openly oppoſed the latter conſtitution of JOHN, boldly affirming, that it was contrary to all law both human and divine [*a*]. The pope, on the other hand, highly exaſperated againſt this audacious defender of the Franciſcan poverty, threw him into priſon; and, by a new edict, which he publiſhed about the end of the year, enacted, that all who maintained that CHRIST, and his apoſtles, had no common nor ſpecial property in any of their poſſeſſions, ſhould be deemed heretics, and corruptors of the true religion [*b*]. Finding, however, that the Franciſcans were not terrified in the leaſt by this decree, he publiſhed another yet more flaming conſtitution about the end of the year 1324, in which he confirmed his former edicts, and pronounced that tenet *concerning the expropriation of Chriſt and his apoſtles, a peſtilential, erroneous, damnable, and blaſphemous doctrine, ſubverſive of the catholic faith*, and declared all ſuch as adhered to it, *obſtinate heretics* and *rebels*

[*a*] WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vii. p. 2. 22.—— AVAR. PELAGIUS, *De planctu eccleſiæ*, lib. ii. *f.* 167.—TRITHEMIUS, *Annal. Hirſaug.* tom. ii. p. 157.—THEOD. DE NIEN, in ECCARDI *Corpore Hiſtor. med. ævi*, tom. vii. p. 1491.

[*b*] WADDINGI, tom. vii. p. 36.—*Contin. de* NANGIS, in DACHERII *Spicilegio*, tom. iii. p. 83.—BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 205.—*Benedictinor. Gallia Chriſtiana*, tom. ii. p. 1515.

againſt

againſt the church [c]. In conſequence of this mercileſs decree, great numbers of thoſe who perſiſted in aſſerting that CHRIST and his apoſtles were exactly ſuch Mendicants as FRANCIS would have his brethren to be, were apprehended by the Dominican inquiſitors, who were implacable enemies of the Franciſcans, and committed to the flames. The hiſtory of *France* and *Spain*, *Italy* and *Germany*, during this and the following century, abounds with inſtances of this deplorable cruelty.

The attempts of the Franciſcans againſt the pope.

XXX. The zealous pontif purſued this affair with great warmth for ſeveral years ſucceſſively; and as this conteſt ſeemed to have taken its riſe from the books of PIERRE D'OLIVE, he branded with infamy, in the year 1325, the *Poſtilla*, and the other writings of that author, as pernicious and heretical [d]. The next ſtep he took was to ſummon to *Avignon* ſome of the more learned and eminent brethren of the Franciſcan order, of whoſe writings and eloquence he was the moſt apprehenſive, and to detain them at his court; and then, to arm himſelf againſt the reſentment and indignation of this exaſperated ſociety, and to prevent their attempting any thing to his prejudice, he kept a ſtrict guard over them in all places, by means of his friends the Dominicans. MICHAEL DE CÆSENAS, who reſided in *Italy*, and was the head of the order, could but ill diſſemble the hatred he had conceived againſt the pope, who therefore ordered him to repair to *Avignon*, in the year 1327, and there deprived him of his

[c] This conſtitution, as well as the two former already mentioned, is publiſhed among the *Extravagantes*, tit. xiv. *De verbor. ſignif.* WADDINGUS, tom. vii. p. 36. vigorouſly oppoſes this laſt, which is pretty extraordinary in a man ſo immoderately attached to the cauſe of the popes as he was.

[d] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 47.—Jo. GEORG. ECCARDI *Corpus Hiſtor. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 592, and 1491.

office,

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office [*e*]. But, prudent as this violent meaſure might appear at firſt ſight, it ſerved only to inflame the enraged Franciſcans more than ever, and to confirm them in their attachment to the ſcheme of abſolute poverty. For no ſooner did the bitter and well-known conteſt between JOHN XXII., and the emperor LEWIS of *Bavaria*, break out, than the principal champions of the Franciſcan cauſe, ſuch as MARSILIUS of *Padua*, and JO. DE JANDUNO, or GENOA, fled to the emperor, and under his protection publiſhed the moſt virulent pieces imaginable, in which they not only attacked JOHN perſonally, but alſo levelled their ſatires at the power and authority of the popes in general [*f*]. This example was ſoon followed by others, particularly by MICH. CÆSENAS, and WILLIAM OCCAM, who excelled moſt men of his time in ſubtilty and acuteneſs of genius, and alſo by F. BONAGRATIA of *Bergamo*. They made their eſcape by ſea from *Avignon*, in the year 1327, went firſt to the emperor, who was, at that time, in *Italy*, and from thence proceeded to *Munich*. They were ſoon joined by many others, ſuch as BERENGARIUS, FRANCIS DE ESCULO, and HENRY DE HALEM, who were highly and deſervedly eſteemed on account of their eminent parts and extenſive learning [*g*]. All theſe learned fugitives

[*e*] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 69. 74.

[*f*] LUC. DACHERII *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 85. *ſ. Bullar. Roman.* tom. vi. p. 167. EDM. MARTENE, *Theſaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 695. 704. BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 216. There is a very noted piece on this ſubject written by MARSILIUS of *Padua*, who was profeſſor at *Vienna*, which was publiſhed in 8vo, at *Francfort*, by FRANC. GOMARUS, 1592, and is intitled, *Defenſor pro Ludovico Bavaro adverſus uſurpatam Romani Pontificis jurisdictionem.*

[*g*] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 81.—MARTENE, *Theſaur. Anecdotor.* tom. iii. p. 749. 757. *ſ.* 781.—TRITHEMII *Annal. Hirſaug.* tom. ii. p. 167.—BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 217.—ECCARDI *Corpus Hiſtor. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 1034.

fugitives defended the inſtitute of their founder in long and laboured treatiſes, in which they reduced the papal dignity and authority within a very narrow compaſs, and loaded the pontifs with reproaches and invectives. OCCAM ſurpaſſed them all in the keenneſs and ſpirit of his ſatire; and hence his *Dialogues*, together with his other productions, which were peruſed with avidity, and tranſmitted down to ſucceeding generations, gave, as it were, a mortal blow to the ambition and majeſty of the Roman pontifs.

Lewis of Bavaria becomes the patron of the Franciſcans.

XXXI. On the other hand, the emperor, LEWIS of *Bavaria*, to expreſs his gratitude to theſe his defenders, not only made the cauſe of the Franciſcans his own, but alſo adopted their favourite ſentiment concerning the poverty of CHRIST and his apoſtles. For among the hereſies and errors of which he publicly accuſed JOHN XXII., and for which he deprived him of the pontificate, the principal and moſt pernicious one, in the opinion of the emperor, was his maintaining that the poverty of CHRIST did not exclude all right and property in what he uſed as a ſubſiſtence [*b*]. The *Fratricelli*, *Beghards*, *Beguines*, and *Spirituals*, then at variance with the pope, were effectually protected by the emperor, in *Germany*, againſt the attempts of the inquiſitors; ſo that, during his reign, that country was overrun with ſhoals of Mendicant friars. There was ſcarce a province or city in the empire that did not abound with *Beghards* and *Beguines*; that is, monks profeſſing the third rule of St. FRANCIS, and who placed the chief excellence of the Chriſt-

p. 1034.—BALUZII *Miſcellan.* tom. i. p. 293. 315.—The reader may alſo conſult thoſe writers who have compiled *Indexes* and *Collections of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians.*

[*b*] See *Proceſſus Ludovici contra Johannem A.* 1328, *d.* 12 *Dec. datus*, in BALUZII *Miſcellaneis*, tom. ii. p. 522. and alſo his *Appellatio*, p. 494.

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ian life in a voluntary and abſolute poverty [*i*]. The Dominicans, on the other hand, as enemies to the Franciſcans, and friends to the pope, were treated with great ſeverity by his Imperial majeſty, who baniſhed them with ignominy out of ſeveral cities [*k*].

Peace is made between the Franciſcans and the pope.

XXXII. The rage of the contending parties ſubſided greatly from the year 1329. The pope cauſed a diet of the Franciſcans to be held that year at *Paris*, where by means of cardinal BERTRAND, who was preſident of the aſſembly, and the Pariſian doctors, who were attached to his intereſts, he ſo far ſoftened the reſentment of the greateſt part of the brethren, that they ceaſed to defend the conduct of MICHAEL CÆSENAS and his aſſociates, and permitted another preſident, GERARD ODDO, to be ſubſtituted in his room. They alſo acknowledged JOHN to be a true and lawful pope; and then terminated the diſpute concerning the poverty of CHRIST in ſuch an ambiguous manner, that the conſtitutions and edicts of NICHOLAS III. and JOHN XXII., however contradictory, maintained their authority [*l*]. But, notwithſtanding theſe pacific and mutual conceſſions, there were great numbers of the Franciſcans in *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, who would by no means conſent to this reconciliation. After the death of JOHN, BENEDICT XII., and CLEMENT VI., took great pains to cloſe the breach, and ſhewed great clemency and tenderneſs towards ſuch of the order as thought the inſtitute of their founder more ſacred than the papal

[*i*] I have many pieces upon this ſubject that were never publiſhed.

[*k*] MART. DIEFENBACH. *De mortis genere, quo Henricus* VII. *obiit*, p. 145. and others.—ECCARDI *Corpus Hiſtor. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 2103.—BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 220.

[*l*] WADDINGI *Annales*, tom. vii. p. 94.—DACHERII *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 91.

bulls. This lenity had ſome good effects. Many, who had withdrawn themſelves from the ſociety were hereby induced to return to it, in which number were FRANCIS DE ESCULO, and others, who had been ſome of JOHN's moſt inveterate enemies [*m*]. Even thoſe, who would not be prevailed on to return to their order, ceaſed to inſult the popes, obſerved the rules of their founder in a quiet and inoffenſive manner, and would have no ſort of connexion with thoſe *Fratricelli* and *Tertiaries* in *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, who contemned the papal authority [*n*].

The diſtreſſes of Spirituals, Beghards, &c. in *Germany*.

XXXIII. The German Franciſcans, who were protected by the emperor LEWIS, held out their oppoſition much longer than any of the reſt. But in the year 1347, their imperial patron being dead, the halcyon days of the Franciſcan *Spirituals*, as alſo of their aſſociates the *Beghards*, or *Tertiaries*, were at an end in *Germany*. For in the year 1345, his ſucceſſor CHARLES IV., having been raiſed to the imperial throne by the intereſt of the pope, was ready, in his turn, to gratify the deſires of the court of *Rome*, and accordingly ſupported, both by his edicts and by his arms, the inquiſitors who were ſent by the Roman pontif againſt his enemies, and ſuffered them to apprehend and put to death all of theſe enemies that came within their reach. Theſe miniſters of papal vengeance exerted their power chiefly in the diſtrict of *Magdeburg* and *Bremen*, *Thuringia*, *Saxony*, and *Heſſe*, where they extirpated all the *Beghards*, as well as the *Beguines*, or *Tertiaries*, the aſſociates of thoſe Franciſcans, who held that CHRIST and his apoſtles had no property in any thing. Theſe

[*m*] ARGENTRE, *Collectio judiciar. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 343.—BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 281.—WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 313.

[*n*] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 116. 126.—ARGENTRE *l. c.* tom. i. p. 343, &c.

ſevere

ſevere meaſures were approved by CHARLES IV., who then reſided in *Italy*, at *Lucca*, from whence, in the year 1369, he iſſued out ſevere edicts, commanding all the German princes to extirpate out of their dominions the *Beghards* and *Beguines*, or, as he himſelf interpreted the name, the *voluntary beggars* [o], as enemies of the church and of the Roman empire, and to aſſiſt the *inquiſitors* in their proceedings againſt them. By another edict, publiſhed not long after, he gave the houſes of the *Beghards* to the *tribunal* of the *inquiſition*, ordering them to be converted into priſons for *heretics*: and, at the ſame time, ordered all the effects of the *Beguines* to be ſold publickly, and the profits ariſing from thence to be equally divided between the *inquiſitors*, the magiſtrates, and the poor of thoſe towns and cities where ſuch ſale ſhall be made [p]. The *Beghards*, being reduced to great ſtraits by this and other mandates of the emperor, and by the conſtitutions of the popes, ſought a refuge in thoſe provinces of *Switzerland* that border upon the *Rhine*, and alſo in *Holland*, *Brabant*, and *Pomerania* [q]. But

[o] In high Dutch, *Die wilgen Armen.*

[p] I have in my poſſeſſion this edict, with other laws of CHARLES IV., enacted on this occaſion, as alſo many of the papal conſtitutions, and other records which illuſtrate this affair, and which undoubtedly deſerve to ſee the light. It is certain, that CHARLES IV. himſelf, in his edicts and mandates, clearly characterizes thoſe people, whom he there ſtyles *Beggards* and *Beguines*, as *Franciſcan Tertiaries*, belonging to that party of the order then at variance with the pope. *They are* (to uſe the emperor's own words, in his edict iſſued out at *Lucca*, and bearing date the 16th of June, 1369) *a pernicious ſect, who pretend to a ſacrilegious and heretical poverty, and who are under a vow that they neither ought to have, nor will have, any property, whether ſpecial or common, in the goods they uſe* (this is the poverty of the Franciſcan inſtitute, which JOHN XXII. ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed), *which they extend even to their wretched habits.* —For ſo the Spirituals and their aſſociates uſed to do.

[q] See ODOR. RAYNALDUS, *Annal. Eccleſ. ad A.* 1372. § xxxiv. p. 513. See alſo the books of FELIX MALLEOLUS, written in the following century againſt the *Beggards* in *Switzerland*.

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the edicts and mandates of the emperor, together with the papal bulls and inquisitors, followed them wherever they went, and distressed them in their most distant retreats; so that, during the reign of CHARLES IV., the greatest part of *Germany* (*Switzerland*, and those provinces that are contiguous to it, excepted) was thoroughly purged of the *Beghards*, or rebellious Franciscans, both *perfect* and *imperfect*.

Their divisions so far from being extinguished by these proceedings, that the Franciscan order is split into two considerable parties.

XXXIV. But neither edicts, bulls, or inquisitors, could entirely pluck up the roots of this inveterate discord. For so ardently were many of the brethren bent upon observing, in the most perfect and rigorous manner, the institute of St. FRANCIS, that numbers were to be found in all places who either withstood the president of the society, or, at least, obeyed him with reluctance. At once therefore to satisfy both the laxer and more rigid party, after various methods had been tried to no purpose, a division of the order was agreed to. Accordingly, in the year 1368, the president consented that PAULUTIUS FULGINAS, who was the chief of the more rigid Franciscans in *Italy*, together with his associates, who were pretty numerous, should live separately from the rest of the brethren, according to the rules and customs they had adopted, and follow the institute of their founder in the strictest and most rigorous manner. The *Spirituals*, and the followers of OLIVE, whose scattered remains were yet observable in several places, joined themselves gradually and imperceptibly to this party. And as the number of those who were fond of the *severer discipline* continually encreased in many provinces, the popes thought proper to approve that institute, and to give it the solemn sanction of their authority. In consequence of this, the Franciscan order was divided into two large bodies, which subsist to this day, *viz.* the *Conventual Brethren*,

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and the *Brethren of the observation.* Those who gave up the strict sense of the expressions in which the institute of their founder was conceived, and adopted the modifications that were given of them by the pontifs, were called by the former name; and the council of *Constance* conferred the latter upon those who chose to be determined by the words of the institute itself, rather than by any explications of it [*r*]. But the *Fratricelli*, together with the *Beghards*, whom we have frequently had occasion to mention, absolutely rejected this reconciliation, and persisted in disturbing the peace of the church, during this and the following century, in the marquisate of *Ancona*, and in other places.

New religious orders are founded.

XXXV. This century gave rise to other religious societies, some of which were but of short duration, and the rest never became famous. JOHN COLOMBINI, a nobleman of *Sienna*, founded, in the year 1368, the order of the *Apostolic Clercs*, who, because they frequently pronounced the name of JESUS, were afterwards called *Jesuates*. This institution was confirmed by URBAN V. the following year, and subsisted till the last century, when it was abolished by CLEMENT IX. [*s*]. The brethren belonging to it professed poverty, and adhered to the institute of St. AUGUSTIN. They were not, however, admitted to holy orders, but assisted the poor by their prayers, and other pious offices, and prepared medicines for them, which they distributed *gratis* [*t*]. But these statutes were in a manner abrogated when CLEMENT dissolved the order.

[*r*] See WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 209. 298. 326. 336. tom. ix. p. 59. 65. 78. &c.

[*s*] In the year 1668.

[*t*] HIPP. HELYOT, *Hist. des Orares*, tom. iii. p. 411. *f.*—FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontif.* tom. iv. p. 189. *f.*—BONANNI, and others, who have compiled histories of the religious orders.

XXXVI.

XXXVI. Soon after the commencement of this century, the famous ſect of the *Cellite brethren and ſiſters* aroſe at *Antwerp:* they were alſo ſtyled the *Alexian brethren* and *ſiſters*, becauſe St. ALEXIUS was their patron; and they were named *Cellites*, from the cells in which they were uſed to live. As the clergy of this age took little care of the ſick and dying, and deſerted ſuch as were infected with thoſe peſtilential diſorders which were then very frequent, ſome compaſſionate and pious perſons at *Antwerp* formed themſelves into a ſociety for the performance of thoſe religious offices which the Sacerdotal orders ſo ſhamefully neglected. Purſuant to this agreement, they viſited and comforted the ſick, aſſiſted the dying with their prayers and exhortations, took care of the interment of thoſe who were cut off by the plague, and on that account forſaken by the affrighted clergy, and committed them to the grave with a ſolemn funeral dirge. It was with reference to this laſt office, that the common people gave them the name of *Lollards* [*u*]. The example

The ſect of the Cellite brethren and ſiſters.

The Lollards.

[*u*] Many writers have given us large accounts concerning the ſect and name of the *Lollards*, yet none of them are to be commended for their fidelity, diligence, or accuracy on this head. This I can confidently aſſert, becauſe I have carefully and expreſsly inquired into whatever relates to the *Lollards*; and from the moſt authentic records concerning them, both publiſhed and unpubliſhed, have collected copious materials from whence their true hiſtory may be compiled. Moſt of the German writers, as well as thoſe of other countries, affirm, that the *Lollards* were a particular ſect, who differed from the church of *Rome* in many religious points; and that WALTER LOLLHARD, who was burnt in this century at *Cologn*, was their founder. How ſo many learned men came to adopt this opinion is beyond my comprehenſion. They indeed refer to JO. TRITHEMIUS as the author of this opinion; yet it is certain, that no ſuch account of theſe people is to be found in his writings. I ſhall therefore endeavour, with all poſſible brevity, to throw all the light I can upon this matter, that they who are fond of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory may have a juſt notion of it.

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example of theſe good people had ſuch an extenſive influence, that in a little time ſocieties of the

The term *Lollhard*, or *Lulhard*, or, as the ancient Germans write it, *Lollert*, *Lullert*, is compounded of the old German word *Lullen*, *Lollen*, *Lallen*, and the well-known termination *hard*, with which many of the old High Dutch words end. *Lollen*, or *Lullen*, ſignifies to ſing with a low voice. It is yet uſed in the ſame ſenſe among the Engliſh, who ſay, *lull a-ſleep*, which ſignifies to ſing any one into a ſlumber with a ſweet indiſtinct voice. See FRANC. JUNII *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, ab EDVARDO LYE, *Oxon.* 1743, *fol.* under the word *Lollard*. The word is alſo uſed in the ſame ſenſe among the Flemings, Swedes, and other nations, as appears by their reſpective *Dictionaries*. Among the Germans, both the ſenſe and pronunciation of it have undergone ſome alteration: for they ſay, *Lallen*, which ſignifies to *pronounce indiſtinctly*, or *ſtammer*. *Lolhard* therefore is a *ſinger*, or one who frequently ſings. For as the word *Beggen*, which univerſally ſignifies to *requeſt any thing fervently*, is applied to devotional requeſts, or prayers, and, in the ſtricter ſenſe in which it is uſed by the High Dutch, denotes *praying fervently to God*; in the ſame manner, the word *Lollen*, or *Lullen*, is transferred from a common to a ſacred ſong, and ſignifies, in its moſt limited ſenſe, to *ſing a hymn*. *Lolhard* therefore, in the vulgar tongue of the ancient Germans, denotes a perſon who is *continually praiſing God with a ſong*, or ſinging *hymns to his honour*. HOSCEMIUS, a canon of *Liege*, has well apprehended and expreſſed the force of this word in his *Geſta Pontificum Leodienſium*, lib. i. cap. xxxi. in JO. CHAPEAVILLI *Geſtis Pontificum Tungrenſium et Leodienſium*, tom. ii. p. 350. *f. In the ſame year* (1309), ſays he, *certain ſtrolling hypocrites, who were called* LOLLARDS, *or praiſers of God, deceived ſome women of quality in Hainault and Brabant*. Becauſe thoſe who praiſed God, generally did it in verſe, therefore, in the Latin ſtyle of the middle age, to *praiſe God*, meant to *ſing* to him, and ſuch as were frequently employed in acts of adoration were called *religious ſingers*. And as prayers and hymns are regarded as a certain external ſign of piety towards God, therefore thoſe who aſpired after a more than ordinary degree of piety and religion, and for that purpoſe were more frequently occupied in ſinging hymns of praiſe to God than others, were, in the common popular language, called *Lollhards*. Hereupon this word acquired the ſame meaning with that of the term *Beghard*, which denoted a perſon remarkable for piety; for in all the old records, from the eleventh century, theſe two words are ſynonymous: ſo that all who are ſtyled *Beggards* are alſo called *Lollards*, which may be proved to a demonſtration from many authors, and particularly from many paſſages in the writings of FELIX MALLEOLUS againſt

the ſame ſort of *Lollards*, conſiſting both of men and women, were formed in moſt parts of *Germany* CENT. XIV. PART II.

againſt the *Beggards:* ſo that there are preciſely as many ſorts of *Beggards* as of *Lollards*. Thoſe whom the monks now call *Lay Brothers*, were formerly named *Lollard Brethren*, as is well obſerved by BARTHOL. SCHOBINGER, *Ad Joach. Vadianum de collegiis monaſteriiſque Germaniæ Veter.* lib. i. p. 24. in GOLDASTI *Scriptor. rerum Alemannicarum*, tom. iii.

The Brethren of the free ſpirit, of whom we have already given a large account, are by ſome ſtyled *Beggards*, by others *Lollards*. The followers of GERHARD GROOTE, or *Prieſts of the community*, are frequently called *Lollard Brethren*. The good man WALTER, who was burnt at *Cologn*, and whom ſo many learned men have unadviſedly repreſented as the founder of the ſect of the *Lollards*, is by ſome called a *Beggard*, by others a *Lollard*, and by others a *Minorite*. The Franciſcan *Tertiaries*, who were remarkable for their prayers and other pious exerciſes, often go by the name of *Lollards*. The *Cellite Brethren*, or *Alexians*, whoſe piety was very exemplary, did no ſooner appear in *Flanders* about the beginning of this century, than the people gave them the title of *Lollards*, a term much in uſe at that time. A particular reaſon indeed for their being diſtinguiſhed by this name was, that they were public ſingers, who made it their buſineſs to inter the bodies of thoſe who died of the plague, and ſang a dirge over them in a mournful and indiſtinct tone as they carried them to the grave. Among the many teſtimonies that might be alleged to prove this, we ſhall confine ourſelves to the words of Jo. BAPT. GRAMAYE, a man eminently ſkilled in the hiſtory of his country, in his Work, entitled, *Antwerpia*, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 16. *The Alexians*, ſays he, *who conſtantly employed themſelves about funerals, had their riſe at* Antwerp; *at which place, about the year* 1300, *ſome honeſt pious laymen formed a ſociety. On account of their extraordinary temperance and modeſty, they were ſtyled Matemanni (or* Moderatiſts), *and alſo* LOLLARDS, FROM THEIR ATTENDANCE ON FUNERAL OBSEQUIES.— *From their cells they were named Cellite brethren.* To the ſame purpoſe is the following paſſage in his work, entitled, *Lovanium*, p. 18. which is inſerted in the ſplendid folio edition of the *Belgic Antiquities*, publiſhed at *Louvain* in 1708: *The Alexians, who were wholly engaged in taking care of funerals, now began to appear. They were laymen, who having wholly devoted themſelves to works of mercy were named* LOLLARDS *and Matemanni (or* Moderatiſts). *They made it their ſole buſineſs to take care of all ſuch as were ſick or out of their ſenſes. Theſe they attended both privately and publicly, and buried the dead.* The ſame learned author tells us, that he tranſcribed ſome of theſe particulars from *an old diary written in Flemiſh rhyme.* Hence

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many and *Flanders*, and were ſupported partly by their manual labours, and partly by the charitable donations of pious perſons. The magiſtrates and inhabitants of the towns, where theſe brethren and ſiſters reſided, gave them peculiar marks of favour and protection on account of their great uſefulneſs to the ſick and needy. But the clergy, whoſe reputation was not a little hurt by them, and the Mendicant friars, who found their profits diminiſhed by the growing credit of theſe newcomers, perſecuted them vehemently, and accuſed them to the popes of many vices and intolerable

we find in the *Annals of Holland and Utrecht*, in ANT. MATTHÆI *Analect. vet. ævi*, tom. i. p. 431. the following words: *Die Lollardtjes die brochten, de dooden by een*, i. e. *the Lollards who collected the dead bodies*; which paſſage is thus paraphraſed by MATTHÆUS, *The managers of funerals, and carriers of the dead, of whom there was a fixed company, were a ſet of mean, worthleſs creatures, who uſually ſpoke in a canting mournful tone, as if bewailing the dead; and hence it came to paſs, that a ſtreet in* Utrecht, *in which moſt of theſe people lived, was called the* Loller ſtreet. The ſame reaſon that changed the word *Beggard* from its primitive meaning, contributed alſo to give, in proceſs of time, a different ſignification to that of *Lollard*, even its being aſſumed by perſons that diſhonoured it. For among thoſe Lollards, who made ſuch extraordinary pretences to piety and religion, and ſpent the greateſt part of their time in meditation, prayer, and ſuch-like acts of piety, there were many abominable hypocrites, who entertained the moſt ridiculous opinions, and concealed the moſt enormous vices, under the ſpecious maſk of this extraordinary profeſſion. But it was chiefly after the riſe of the *Alexians*, or *Cellites*, that the name *Lollard* became infamous. For the prieſts and monks, being inveterately exaſperated againſt theſe good men, propagated injurious ſuſpicions of them, and endeavoured to perſuade the people, that, innocent and beneficent as the *Lollards* ſeemed to be, they were in reality the contrary, being tainted with the moſt pernicious ſentiments of a religious kind, and ſecretly addicted to all ſorts of vices. Thus by degrees it came to paſs, that any perſon, who covered hereſies, or crimes, under the appearance of piety, was called a *Lollard*. So that it is certain this was not a name to denote any one particular ſect, but was formerly common to all perſons and all ſects, who were ſuppoſed to be guilty of impiety towards God and the church, under an external profeſſion of extraordinary piety.

errors.

errors. Hence it was, that the word *Lollard*, which originally carried a good meaning, became a term of reproach to denote a perſon, who, under the maſk of extraordinary piety, concealed either enormous vices, or pernicious ſentiments. But the magiſtrates, by their recommendations and teſtimonials, ſupported the *Lollards* againſt their malignant rivals, and obtained many papal conſtitutions, by which their inſtitute was confirmed, their perſons exempted from the cognizance of the inquiſitors, and ſubjected entirely to the juriſdiction of the biſhops. But as theſe meaſures were inſufficient to ſecure them from moleſtation, CHARLES, duke of *Burgundy*, in the year 1472, obtained a ſolemn bull from pope SIXTUS IV., ordering that the *Cellites*, or *Lollards*, ſhould be ranked among the religious orders, and delivered from the juriſdiction of the biſhops; and pope JULIUS II. granted them yet greater privileges in the year 1506. Many ſocieties of this kind are yet ſubſiſting at *Cologn*, and in the cities of *Flanders*, though they have evidently departed from their ancient rules [*w*].

Greek writers.

XXXVII. Among the Greek writers of this century the following were the moſt eminent.

NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS, whoſe *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* we have already mentioned;

MATTHÆUS BLASTARES, who illuſtrated and explained the canon laws of the Greeks;

BARLAAM, who was a very zealous champion in behalf of the Grecian cauſe againſt the Latins;

[*w*] Beſides many others, whom it is not proper to mention here, ſee ÆGID. GELLENIUS, *De admiranda ſacra et civili magnitudine urbis Coloniæ*, lib. iii. *Syntagm.* li. p. 534. 598. 603.——JO. BAPT. GRAMAYE, in *Antiquit. Belgicis*.—ANTON. SANDERUS, in *Brabantia et Flandria illuſtratis*.—AUB. MIRÆUS, in *operibus Diplomatico Hiſtoricis*, and many other writers of this period in many places of their works. I may add, that thoſe who are ſtyled *Lollards*, are by many called *die Nollbruder*, from *Nollen*, an ancient German word.

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GREGORIUS ACINDYNUS, an inveterate enemy of the *Palamites*, of which ſect we ſhall give ſome account in its proper place;

JOHANNES CANTACUZENUS, famous for his hiſtory of his own time, and his confutation of the Mahometan law;

NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, who compiled the Byzantine hiſtory, and left ſome other monuments of his genius to poſterity;

THEOPHANES, biſhop of *Nice*, a laborious defender of the truth of Chriſtianity againſt the Jews, and the reſt of its enemies;

NILUS CABASILAS, NILUS RHODIUS, and NILUS DAMYLA, who moſt warmly maintained the cauſe of their nation againſt all the Latin writers;

PHILOTHEUS, ſeveral of whoſe tracts are yet extant, and ſeem well adapted to excite devotional temper and ſpirit;

GREGORY PALAMAS; of whom more hereafter.

Latin writers.

XXXVIII. From the prodigious number of the Latin writers of this century, we ſhall only ſelect the moſt famous. Among the ſcholaſtic doctors, who blended philoſophy with divinity, JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, a Franciſcan, and the great antagoniſt of Thomas, held the firſt rank, and, though not entitled to any praiſe for his candour and ingenuity, was by no means inferior to any of his contemporaries in acuteneſs and ſubtilty of genius [*x*].

After him the moſt celebrated writers of this claſs were DURANDUS of St. PORTIAN, who

[*x*] The very laborious and learned LUC. WADDINGUS favoured the public with an accurate edition of the works of SCOTUS, which was printed at *Lyons*, 1639, in twelve volumes folio.—Compare WOOD, *Antiqq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 86. *ſ.* but eſpecially WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor. fratr.* tom. vi. p. 40, 107.—BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 70, &c.

combated

combated the commonly received doctrine of the divine co-operation with the human will [y], ANTONIUS ANDRÆAS, HERVÆUS NATALIS, FRANCIS MAYRONIUS, THOMAS BRADWARDINE, an acute ingenious man [z], PETER AUREOLUS, JOHN BACON, WILLIAM OCCAM, WALTER BURLÆUS, PETER DE ALLIACO, THOMAS of *Straſburg*, and GREGORY DE RIMINI [a].

Among the myſtic divines, Jo. TAULERUS and Jo. RUYSBROCKIUS, though not entirely free from errors, were eminent for their wiſdom and integrity;

NICHOLAS LYRANUS acquired great reputation by his *Compendious Expoſition of the whole Bible*;

RAYNERIUS PISANUS is celebrated for his *Summary of Theology*, and ASTESANUS for his *Summary of Caſes of Conſcience*.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Chriſtian church during this century.

I. ALL thoſe who are well acquainted with the hiſtory of theſe times muſt acknowledge, that religion, whether as taught in the ſchools, or inculcated upon the people as the rule of their conduct, was ſo extremely adulterated and deformed, that there was not a ſingle branch

The corruption of religion.

[y] See Jo. LAUNOIUS, in a ſmall treatiſe, entitled, *Syllabus rationum, quibus Durandi cauſſa defenditur*, tom. i. opp.—*Gallia Chriſt.* tom. ii. p. 723.

[z] RICH. SIMON, *Lettres Choiſies*, tom. iv. p. 232. & *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Eccleſiaſt. par M.* DU PIN, tom. i. p. 360.—STEPH. SOUCIETUS, in *Obſervationibus ad h. l.* p. 703.—*Nouv. Dict. Hiſt. Crit.* tom. ii. p. 500. *ſ.* He was archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

[a] For a full account of all theſe perſons, ſee *Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 11, 12. *ſ.*

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of the Chriſtian doctrine, which retained the leaſt trace of its primitive luſtre and beauty. Hence it may eaſily be imagined, that the *Waldenſes* and others, who longed for a reformation of the church, and had ſeparated themſelves from the juriſdiction of the biſhop of *Rome*, though every where expoſed to the fury of the *inquiſitors* and monks, yet increaſed from day to day, and baffled all the attempts that were made to extirpate them. Many of theſe poor people having obſerved, that great numbers of their party periſhed by the flames and other puniſhments, fled out of *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, into *Bohemia* and the adjacent countries, where they afterwards aſſociated with the Huſſites and other Separatiſts from the church of *Rome*.

The ſtate of exegetical or explanatory theology.

II. NICHOLAS LYRANUS deſervedly holds the firſt rank among the commentators on the Holy Scriptures, having explained the Books both of the Old and New Teſtament in a manner far ſuperior to the prevailing taſte and ſpirit of his age. He was a perfect maſter of the Hebrew language, but not well verſed in the Greek, and was therefore much happier in his expoſition of the Old Teſtament, than in that of the New [*b*]. All the other divines, who applied themſelves to this kind of writing, were ſervile imitators of their predeceſſors. They either culled choice ſentences from the writings of the more ancient doctors; or elſe, departing from the obvious meaning of the words, they tortured the ſacred writers to accommodate them to ſenſes that were myſterious and abſtruſe. They who are deſirous of being acquainted with this art, may have recourſe to VITALIS A FURNO, his *Moral Mirrour*

[*b*] RICH. SIMON, *Hiſtoire des principaux Commentateurs du Nos*, p. 447. & *Critique de la Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccleſ. par M.* DU PIN, tom. i. p. 352.—WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 264. *ſ.*

of

of the Scriptures [c], or to LUDOLPHUS of *Saxony*, in his *Pſalter Spiritualized* [d]. The philoſophers, who commented upon the ſacred writings, ſometimes propoſed ſubtile queſtions drawn from what was called, in this century, *Internal Science*, and ſolved them in a dexterous and artful manner.

III. The greateſt part of the doctors of this century, both Greek and Latin, followed the rules of the peripatetic philoſophy, in expounding and teaching the doctrines of religion; and the Greeks, from their commerce with the Latins, ſeemed to have acquired ſome knowledge of thoſe methods of inſtruction uſed in the weſtern ſchools. Even to this day the Greeks read, in their own tongue, the works of THOMAS, and other capital writers of the ſcholaſtic claſs, which in this age were tranſlated and introduced into the Greek church by DEMETRIUS CYDONIUS, and others [e]. Prodigious numbers among the Latins were fond of this ſubtile method, in which JOHN SCOTUS, DURANDUS A S. PORTIAN, and WILLIAM OCCAM, peculiarly excelled. Some few had recourſe to the deciſions of *Scripture* and *Tradition* in explaining divine truths, but they were overborne by the immenſe tribe of logicians, who carried all before them.

The didactic divines.

IV. This ſuperiority of the ſchoolmen did not, however, prevent ſome wiſe and pious men among the *Myſtics*, and elſewhere, from ſeverely cenſuring this preſumptuous method of bringing before the tribunal of philoſophy matters of pure revelation. Many, on the contrary, were bold enough to oppoſe the reigning paſſion, and to recal the youth deſigned for the miniſtry, to the ſtudy of

The adverſaries of the ſchool-divines. The Biblical divines.

[c] *Speculum Morale totius Scripturæ.*
[d] *Pſalterium juxta Spiritualem ſenſum.*
[e] RICH. SIMON, *Creance de l'Egliſe Orientale ſur la Tranſubſtantiation*, p. 166.

the

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the ſcriptures and the writings of the ancient fathers. This proceeding kindled the flame of diſcord almoſt every where; but this flame raged with peculiar violence in ſome of the more famous univerſities, eſpecially in thoſe of *Paris* and *Oxford*, where many ſharp diſputes were continually carried on againſt the *philoſophical* divines by thoſe of the *biblical* party, who, though greatly inferior to their antagoniſts in point of number, were ſometimes victorious. For the *philoſophical* legions, headed by Mendicants, Dominicans, and Franciſcans, were often extremely raſh in their manner of diſputing; they defined and explained the principal doctrines of revealed religion in ſuch a way as really overturned them, and fell often into opinions that were evidently abſurd and impious. Hence it came to paſs, that ſome of them were compelled to abjure their errors, others to ſeek their ſafety by flight; ſome had their writings publicly burnt, and others were thrown into priſon [*f*]. However, when theſe commotions were quelled, moſt of them returned, though with prudence and caution, to their former way of thinking, perplexed their adverſaries by various contrivances, and deprived them of their reputation, their profits, and many of their followers.

Contentions among the ſchoolmen. The Scotiſts and Thomiſts.

V. It is remarkable, that theſe *ſcholaſtic* doctors, or *philoſophical* theologiſts, far from agreeing among

[*f*] See BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. paſſim.—In the year 1340, ſeveral opinions of the ſchoolmen, concerning the Trinity and other doctrines, were condemned, p. 266.—In the year 1347, M. JO. DE MERCURIA and NICH. DE ULTRICURIA were obliged to abjure their errors, p. 298. 308.—In 1348, one SIMON was convicted of ſome horrible errors, p. 322.—The ſame fate, A. 1354, befel GUIDO of the Auguſtine order, p. 329. A. 1362, the like happened to one LEWIS, p. 374. to JO. DE CALORE, p. 377. A. 1365, to DION. SOULLECHAT, p. 382. *Oxford* alſo had its ſhare in tranſactions of this nature. See ANT. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 153. 183. *ſ.*

among themſelves, were furiouſly engaged in diſputations with each other concerning many points. The flame of their controverſy was, in this century, ſupplied with plentiful acceſſions of fuel, by JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, an Engliſhman, of the Franciſcan order, who was extremely eminent for the ſubtilty of his genius, and who, animated againſt the Dominicans by a warm ſpirit of jealouſy, had attacked and attempted to diſprove ſeveral doctrines of THOMAS AQUINAS. Upon this, the Dominicans, taking the alarm, united from all quarters to defend their favourite doctor, whom they juſtly conſidered as the common leader of the ſcholaſtics; while the Franciſcans, on the other hand, eſpouſed with ardour the cauſe of SCOTUS, whom they looked upon as a divine ſage ſent down from heaven to enlighten bewildered and erring mortals. Thus theſe powerful and flouriſhing orders were again divided; and hence the origin of the two famous ſects, the *Scotiſts* and *Thomiſts*, which, to this day, diſpute the field of controverſy in the Latin ſchools. The chief points about which they diſagree are, the *Nature of the divine co-operation with the human will*, the *Meaſure of divine grace* that is neceſſary to ſalvation, the *Unity of form in man*, or perſonal identity, and other abſtruſe and minute queſtions, the enumeration of which is foreign to our purpoſe. We ſhall only obſerve, that what contributed moſt to exalt the reputation of SCOTUS, and to cover him with glory, was his demonſtration and defence of, what was called, the *Immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary*, againſt the Dominicans, who entertained different notions of that matter [g].

VI. A prodigious number of the people, denominated *Myſtics*, reſided and propagated their The Myſtics.

[g] See WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 52.

tenets

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tenets in almoſt every part of *Europe*. There were, undoubtedly, among them many perſons of eminent piety, who endeavoured to wean men from an exceſſive attachment to the external part of religion, and to form them to the love of God, and the practice of genuine virtue. Such, among others, were TAULERUS, RUYSBROCIUS, SUSO, and GERARD of *Zutphen* [*b*], who, it muſt be confeſſed, have left many writings that are exceedingly well calculated to excite pious diſpoſitions in the minds of their readers; though want of judgment, and a propenſity to indulge enthuſiaſtic viſions, is a defect common to them all. But there were alſo ſome ſenſeleſs fanatics belonging to this party, who ran about, from place to place, recommending a moſt unaccountable extinction of all the rational faculties, whereby they idly imagined the human mind would be transfuſed into the divine eſſence; and thus led their proſelytes into a fooliſh kind of piety, that in too many caſes bordered nearly upon licentiouſneſs. The religious frenzy of theſe enthuſiaſts roſe to ſuch a height, as rendered them deteſtable to the ſoberer ſort of *Myſtics*, who charged their followers to have no connexions with them [*i*].

Moral writers.

VII. It is needleſs to ſay much concerning thoſe who applied themſelves to the ſtudy of morality, ſeeing their merit is much of the ſame kind with that of the authors whom we have already mentioned; though it may be proper to

[*b*] Concerning theſe authors, ſee PETR. POIRET. *Biblioth. Myſticorum*; and GODOFR. ARNOLD, *Hiſtor. et deſcriptio Theol. Myſticæ*. Concerning TAULERUS and SUSO, ECHARDUS treats expreſsly in his *Scriptor. Prædicat.* tom. i. p. 653. 677. See alſo *Acta Sanctor. Januar.* tom. ii. p. 652.

[*i*] JOH. RUYSBROCIUS inveighed bitterly againſt them, as appears from his *Work* publiſhed by LAUR. SURIUS, p. 50. 378. as alſo from his treatiſe *De vera contemplatione*, cap. xviii. p. 608.

mention

mention two circumſtances, by which the reader may aſcertain the true ſtate of this ſcience. The firſt is, that, about this time, more writers than in any former century made it their buſineſs to collect and ſolve, what they ſtiled, *Caſes of conſcience*; by which ASTESANUS, an Italian, MONALDUS, and BARTHOLOMEW of St. CONCORDIA, acquired a reputation ſuperior to any of their contemporaries. This kind of writing was of a piece with the education then received in the ſchools, ſince it taught people to quibble and wrangle, inſtead of forming them to a ſound faith and a ſuitable practice. A ſecond thing worthy of notice is, that moral duties were explained, and their practice enforced, by allegories and compariſons of a new and whimſical kind, even by examples drawn from the natures, properties, and actions of the brute creation. Theſe writers began, for inſtance, by explaining the nature and qualities of ſome particular animal, and then applied their deſcription to human life and manners, to characterize the virtues and vices of moral agents. The moſt remarkable productions of this ſort are NIEDER's *Formicarius*, a treatiſe concerning *Bees* by THOMAS BRABANTINUS, HUGO DE St. VICTOR's diſſertation upon *Beaſts*, and a tract of THOMAS WALLEY's, intitled, *The Nature of Brute Animals moralized.*

Controverſialiſts.

VIII. The defenders of Chriſtianity in this age were, generally ſpeaking, unequal to the glorious cauſe they undertook to ſupport; nor do their writings diſcover any ſtriking marks of genius, dexterity, perſpicuity, or candour. Some productions, indeed, appeared from time to time, that were not altogether unworthy of notice. The learned BRADWARDINE, an Engliſh divine, advanced many pertinent and ingenious things towards the confirmation of the truth of Chriſtianity in general, in a *Book upon Providence*. The

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book, intitled, *Collyrium Fidei contra Hæreticos*, or, *Eye-ſalve of Faith againſt the Heretics*, ſhews that its author ALVARUS PELAGIUS was a well-meaning and judicious man, though he has by no means exhauſted the ſubject in this performance. NICHOLAS LYRA wrote againſt the Jews, as did alſo PORCHETUS SALVATICUS, whoſe treatiſe, intitled, *The Triumph of Faith*, is chiefly borrowed from the writings of RAYMOND MARTIN. Both theſe writers are much inferior to THEOPHANES, whoſe *Book againſt the Jews*, and his *Harmony between the Old and New Teſtament*, contain many obſervations that are by no means contemptible.

State of the controverſy between the Greeks and Latins.

IX. During this century, there were ſome promiſing appearances of a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins. For the former, apprehending they ſhould want the aſſiſtance of the Latins to ſet bounds to the power of the Turks, which about this time was continually increaſing, often pretended a willingneſs to ſubmit to the Latin canons. Accordingly, A. D. 1339, ANDRONICUS, the Younger, ſent BARLAAM as his ambaſſador into the weſt, to deſire a reconciliation in his name. In the year 1349, another Grecian embaſſy was ſent to CLEMENT VI., for the ſame purpoſe, and, in 1356, a third was diſpatched upon a like errand to INNOCENT VI., who reſided at *Avignon*. Nor was this all; for, in the year 1367, the Grecian patriarch arrived at *Rome* in order to negociate this important matter, and was followed, in the year 1369, by the emperor himſelf, JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, who undertook a journey into *Italy*, and, in order to conciliate the friendſhip and good-will of the Latins, publiſhed a confeſſion of his faith, which was agreeable to the ſentiments of the Roman pontif. But, notwithſtanding theſe prudent and pacific meaſures, the major part of the Greeks could

could not be perſuaded by any means to drop the controverſy, or to be reconciled to the church of Rome, though ſeveral of them, from views of intereſt or ambition, expreſſed a readineſs to ſubmit to its demands; ſo that this whole century was ſpent partly in furious debates, and partly in fruitleſs negotiations [*k*].

The contention between the univerſity of *Paris* and the Dominicans.

X. In the year 1384, a furious controverſy aroſe at *Paris*, between the Univerſity there and the Dominican Order. The author of it was JOHN DE MONTESONO, a native of *Arragon*, a Dominican friar and profeſſor of divinity, who, purſuant to the deciſions and doctrine of his Order, publicly denied that the bleſſed Virgin MARY was conceived without any ſtain of original ſin; and moreover aſſerted, that all who believed the *immaculate conception* were enemies of the true faith. The quarrel occaſioned by this proceeding would certainly have been ſoon compromiſed, had not JOHN, in a public diſcourſe, delivered ſome time in the year 1387, revived this opinion with more violence than ever. For this reaſon the college of divines, and afterwards the whole univerſity, condemned this, and ſome other tenets of MONTESONUS. For it may be proper to inform the reader, that the univerſity of *Paris*, principally induced thereto by the diſcourſes of JOHN DUN SCOTUS, had from the beginning almoſt of this century, publicly adopted the doctrine of the ſinleſs conception of the holy Virgin [*l*]. Upon this, the Dominicans, together with their champion MONTESONUS, appealed

Occaſioned by Monteſonus.

[*k*] See HENR. CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 369. —LEO. ALLATIUS, *De perpetua conſenſione eccleſ. Orient et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. xvi. xvii. p. 782.—LUC. WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 29. 40. 107. 201. 289. 303. 312. —STEPH. BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 348. 380. 388. 403. 407. 410. 772.

[*l*] See WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 52. *ſ.*

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from the ſentence of the univerſity to pope CLEMENT VII. at *Avignon*, and raiſed an outcry, that St. THOMAS himſelf was condemned by the judgment paſſed upon their brother. But, before the pope could decide the affair, the accuſed friar fled from the court of *Avignon*, went over to the party of URBAN VI., who reſided at *Rome*, and thus, during his abſence, was excommunicated. Whether or no the pope approved the ſentence of the univerſity of *Paris* we cannot ſay. The Dominicans, however, deny that he did, and affirm, that MONTESONUS was condemned purely on account of his flight [*m*]; though there are many others, who aſſert that his opinion was alſo condemned. And as the Dominicans would not acknowledge the ſentence of the univerſity to be valid, they were expelled in the year 1389, and were not reſtored to their ancient honours in that learned body till the year 1404 [*n*].

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies uſed in the Church during this century.

The alteration of the jubilee.

I. WE muſt confine ourſelves to a general and ſuperficial view of the alterations that were introduced into the ritual of the church during this century, ſince it cannot reaſonably be expected we ſhould inſiſt largely upon this ſubject, within the narrow limits of ſuch a work as this. One of the principal circumſtances that ſtrikes us here,

[*m*] See JAC. ECHARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 691.

[*n*] CÆS. EGASS. DE BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. iv. p. 599. 618. 638.—STEPH. BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 521. tom. ii. p. 992.—ARGENTRÉ, *Collectio judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 61.—JAC. DE LONGUEVAL, *Hiſt. de l'Egliſe Galliçane*, tom. xiv. p. 347.

here, is the change that was made in the time of celebrating the jubilee. In the year 1350, CLEMENT VI., in compliance with the requeſts of the people of *Rome*, enacted, that the *jubilee*, which BONIFACE VIII. had ordered to be held every hundredth year, ſhould be celebrated twice in every century [*o*]. In favour of this alteration, he might have aſſigned a very plauſible pretext; ſince it is well known that the Jews, whom the Roman pontifs were always ready to imitate in whatever related to pomp and majeſty, celebrated this ſacred ſolemnity every fiftieth year. But URBAN VI., SIXTUS VI., and other popes, who ordered a more frequent celebration of this ſalutary and profitable inſtitution, would have had more difficulty in attempting to ſatisfy thoſe who might have demanded ſufficient reaſons to juſtify this inconſtancy.

Feſtivals.

II. INNOCENT V. inſtituted feſtivals ſacred to the memory of the *lance* with which our Saviour's ſide was pierced, the *nails* that faſtened him to the croſs, and the crown of thorns he wore at his death [*p*]. This, though evidently abſurd, was nevertheleſs pardonable upon the whole, conſidering the groſs ignorance and ſtupidity of the times. But nothing can excuſe the impious fanaticiſm and ſuperſtition of BENEDICT XII., who, by appointing a feſtival in honour of the marks of CHRIST's wounds, which, the Franciſcans tell us, were imprinted upon the body of their chief and founder by a miraculous interpoſition of the divine power, gave credit to that groſsly ridiculous and blaſphemous fable. Pope JOHN XXII., beſides the ſanction he gave to many other ſuperſti-

Prayers.

[*o*] BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 247. 287. 312. 887.—MURATORII *Antiquit. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 344. 481.

[*p*] See Jo. HENR. A SEELEN, *Diſſ. de feſto Lanceæ et clavorum Chriſti.*—BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 328. *Miſcellan.* tom. i. p. 417.

tions, ordered Chriſtians to add to their prayers thoſe words with which the angel GABRIEL ſaluted the Virgin MARY.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the diviſions and hereſies that troubled the Church during this century.

Controverſies excited by the Quietiſts.

I. DURING ſome part of this century the *Heſychaſts*, or, as the Latins call them, the *Quietiſts*, gave the Greek church a great deal of trouble. To aſſign the true ſource of it we muſt obſerve, that BARLAAM, a native of *Galabria*, who was a monk of St. BASIL, and afterwards biſhop of *Gieraci*, in *Calabria*, made a progreſs through *Greece* to inſpect the behaviour of the monks, among whom he found many things highly reprehenſible. He was more eſpecially offended at the *Heſychaſts* of mount *Athos*, in *Theſſaly*, who were the ſame with the Myſtics, or more perfect monks, and who, by a long courſe of intenſe contemplation, endeavoured to arrive at a tranquillity of mind entirely free from every degree of tumult and perturbation. Theſe *Quietiſts*, in compliance with an ancient opinion of their principal doctors (who imagined that there was a celeſtial *light* concealed in the deepeſt retirements of the mind), uſed to ſit every day, during a certain ſpace of time, in a ſolitary corner, with their eyes eagerly and immoveably fixed upon the middle region of the belly, or navel; and boaſted, that, while they remained in this poſture, they found in effect, a *divine light* beaming forth from the ſoul, which diffuſed through their hearts inexpreſſible ſenſations of

pleaſure and delight [*q*]. To ſuch as inquired what kind of *light* this was, they replied, by way of illuſtration, that it was the *glory of God*, the ſame celeſtial radiance that ſurrounded CHRIST during his transfiguration on the mount. BARLAAM, entirely unacquainted with the cuſtoms and manners of the *Myſtics*, looked upon all this as highly abſurd and fanatical, and therefore ſtyled the monks, who adhered to this inſtitution, *Maſſalians*, and *Euchites* [*r*], and alſo gave them the new

[*q*] We have no reaſon to be ſurpriſed at, and much leſs to diſbelieve, this account. For it is a fundamental rule with all thoſe people in the eaſtern world, whether Chriſtians, Mahometans, or Pagans (who maintain the neceſſity of abſtracting the mind from the body, in order to hold communion with God, which is exactly the ſame thing with the *contemplative* and *myſtic life* among the Latins), that the eyes muſt be ſteadily fixed every day for ſome hours upon ſome particular object; and that he who complies with this precept will be thrown into an extaſy, in which, being united to God, he will ſee wonderful things, and be entertained with ineffable delights. See what is ſaid concerning the *Siameſe* monks and *Myſtics* by ENGELB KÆMPFER, in his *Hiſtory of Japan*, tom. i. p. 30. and alſo concerning thoſe of *India*, in the *Voyages of Bernier*, tom. ii. p. 127. Indeed, I can eaſily admit, that they who continue long in the abovementioned poſture, will imagine they behold many things which no man in his ſenſes ever beheld or thought of. For certainly the combinations they form of the unconnected notions that ariſe to their fancy while their minds are in this odd and unnatural ſtate, muſt be moſt ſingular and whimſical; and that ſo much the more, as the rule itſelf which preſcribes the contemplation of a certain object as the means of arriving at a *viſion of the Deity*, abſolutely forbids all uſe of the faculty of reaſon during that extatic and ſublime interval. This total ſuſpenſion of reaſon and reflection, during the period of contemplation, was not, however, peculiar to the eaſtern Quietiſts; the Latin Myſtics obſerved the ſame rule, and inculcated it upon their diſciples. And from hence we may ſafely conclude, that the many ſurpriſing viſions, of which theſe fanatics boaſt, are fables utterly deſtitute of reaſon and probability. But this is not the proper place for enlarging upon prodigies of this nature.

☞ [*r*] The *Maſſalians* (ſo called from a Hebrew word which ſignifies *prayer*, as *Euchites* from a Greek word of the ſame ſignification) formed themſelves into a ſect, during the fourth cen-

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new name of *Umbilicani* [*s*]. On the other hand, GREGORY PALAMAS, archbiſhop of *Theſſalonica*, defended the cauſe of theſe monks againſt BARLAAM [*t*].

The ſtate of the controverſy between the Hæſychaſts and Barlaamites.

II. In order to put an end to this diſſenſion, a council was held at *Conſtantinople* in the year 1341, in which the emperor himſelf ANDRONICUS the younger, and the patriarch, preſided. Here PALAMAS and the monks triumphed over BARLAAM, who was condemned by the council; whereupon he left *Greece*, and returned to *Italy*. Not long after this, another monk, named GREGORY ACINDYNUS, renewed the controverſy, and, in oppoſition to the opinion maintained by PALAMAS, denied that God dwelt in an eternal light diſtinct from his eſſence, as alſo that ſuch a light was beheld by the diſciples on mount *Tabor*. The diſpute was now no longer concerning the monks, but turned upon the light ſeen at mount *Tabor*, and alſo upon the nature and reſidence of the Deity. Nevertheleſs, he was condemned as a follower of BARLAAM, in another council held at *Conſtantinople*. Many aſſemblies were convened about this affair; but the moſt remarkable of them all, was that held in the year 1351, in which the Barlaamites and their adherents received ſuch a fatal wound, in conſequence of the ſevere decrees enacted againſt them, that they were forced to yield, and leave the victory to PALAMAS. This prelate maintained, that God was incircled, as it were, with an *eternal light*, which might be ſtyled his *energy* or *operation*, and was diſtinct from his nature and eſſence; and that he favoured the three diſciples

tury, under the reign of CONSTANTIUS. Their tenets reſembled thoſe of the Quietiſts in ſeveral reſpects.

[*s*] Ομφαλόψυχοι.

[*t*] For an account of theſe two famous men, BARLAAM and GREGORY PALAMAS, ſee, in preference to all other writers, Jo. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Biblioth. Græca*, tom. x. p. 427. and 454.

with

with a view of this light upon mount *Tabor*. Hence he concluded, that this divine *operation* was really different from the *ſubſtance* of the Deity; and further, that no Being could poſſibly partake of the divine *ſubſtance* or *eſſence*, but that finite natures might poſſeſs a ſhare of his divine light, or *operation*. The Barlaamites, on the contrary, denied theſe poſitions, affirming, that the properties and operations of the Deity were not different from his *eſſence*, and that there was really no difference between the attributes and eſſence of God, conſidered in themſelves, but only in our conceptions of them, and reaſonings upon them [*u*].

The ſeverity of the inquiſition in the weſtern world.

III. In the Latin church the *inquiſitors*, thoſe active miniſters and executioners of papal juſtice, extended their vigilance to every quarter, and moſt induſtriouſly hunted out the remains of thoſe ſects who oppoſed the religion of *Rome*, even the *Waldenſes*, the *Cathariſts*, the *Apoſtoliſts*, and others; ſo that the hiſtory of theſe times abounds with numberleſs inſtances of perſons who were burnt, or otherwiſe barbarouſly deſtroyed, by theſe unrelenting inſtruments of ſuperſtitious vengeance. But none of theſe enemies of the church gave the *inquiſitors* and biſhops ſo much employment of this bloody kind, as the *Brethren and Siſters of the free ſpirit*, who went under the

[*u*] See Jo. CANTACUZENUS, *Hiſtoriæ*, lib. ii. cap. xxxix. p. 263. and GREGOR. PONTANUS. NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, *Hiſtoriæ Byzantinæ*, lib. xi. cap. x. p. 277. and in many other places. But theſe two writers diſagree in many circumſtances. Many materials relative to this controverſy are yet unpubliſhed (ſee MONTFAUCON, *Biblioth. Coiſliniana*, p. 150. 174. 404.) Nor have we ever been favoured with an accurate and well-digeſted hiſtory of it. In the mean time, the reader may conſult LEO ALLATIUS, *De perpetua conſenſione Orient. et Occid. eccleſiæ*, lib. ii. cap. xxii. p. 824.—HENR. CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 361.—DION. PETAVIUS, *Dogmat. Theol.* tom. i. lib. i. cap. xii. p. 76.—STEPH. DE ALTIMURA, *Panoplia contra Schiſma Græcor.* p. 381, &c.

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common name of *Beggards* and *Beguines* in *Germany* and *Flanders*, and were differently denominated in other provinces. For as this ſort of people profeſſed an uncommon and ſublime ſort of devotion, endeavouring to call off men's minds from the external and ſenſible parts of religion, and to win them over to the inward and ſpiritual worſhip of God, they were greatly eſteemed by many plain, well-meaning perſons, whoſe piety and ſimplicity were deceived by a profeſſion ſo ſeducing, and thus made many converts to their opinions. It was on this account that ſuch numbers of this turn and diſpoſition periſhed in the flames of perſecution during this century in *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*.

Severe edicts againſt the Catharists, Beggards, Beguines, &c.

IV. This ſect was moſt numerous in thoſe cities of *Germany* that lay upon the *Rhine*, eſpecially at *Cologn*, which circumſtance induced HENRY I., archbiſhop of that dioceſe, to publiſh a ſevere edict againſt them, A. D. 1306 [*w*]; an example that was ſoon followed by the biſhops of *Mentz*, *Triers*, *Worms*, and *Straſburg* [*x*]. And as there were ſome ſubtile acute men belonging to this party, that eminently keen logician, JOHN DUNS SCOTUS [*y*], was ſent to *Cologn*, in the year 1308, to diſpute againſt them, and to vanquiſh them by dint of ſyllogiſm. In the year 1310, the famous MARGARET PORETTA, who made ſuch a ſhining figure in this ſect, was burnt at *Paris* with one of the brethren. She had undertaken to demonſtrate in an elaborate treatiſe, *That the ſoul, when abſorbed in the love of God, is free from the reſtraint of every law, and may freely gratify all its natural appetites, without contracting*

[*w*] See *Statuta Colonienſia*, publiſhed in 4to. at *Cologn*, A. D. 1554, p. 58.

[*x*] JOHANNIS *Scriptor. rerum Moguntinar.* tom. iii. p. 298, MARTENE, *Theſaur. Anecdotor.* tom. iv. p. 250.

[*y*] WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 108.

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any guilt [z]. Pope CLEMENT V., exaſperated by this and other inſtances of the pernicious fanaticiſm that had got among this ſect, publiſhed in a general council held at *Vienne*, A. D. 1311, a ſpecial conſtitution againſt the *Beggards* and *Beguines* of *Germany*. And though the edict only mentions imperfectly the opinions of this ſect, yet, by the enumeration of them, we may eaſily perceive that the *Myſtic brethren and ſiſters of the free ſpirit* are the perſons principally intended [a]. CLEMENT, in the ſame council, iſſued another conſtitution, by which he ſuppreſſed another and a very different ſort of *Beguines* [b], who had hitherto been conſidered as a lawful and regular ſociety, and lived every where in fixed habitations appropriated to their order, but were now corrupted by the fanatics above mentioned. For the *Brethren and Siſters of the free ſpirit* had inſinuated themſelves into the greateſt part of the convents of the *Beguines*, where they inculcated with great ſucceſs their myſterious and ſublime ſyſtem of religion to theſe ſimple women. And theſe ſimple women were no ſooner initiated into this brilliant and chimerical ſyſtem, than they were captivated with its deluſive charms, and babbled, in the moſt abſurd and impious manner, concerning the true worſhip of the Deity [c].

V. The *Brethren of the fr[illegible] ſpirit*, oppreſſed by ſo many ſevere edicts and conſtitutions, formed

Nevertheleſs, the Brethren and Siſters of the free ſpirit could not be extirpated.

[z] LUC. DACHERII *Spicil. veter. Scriptor.* tom. iii. p. 63—JO. BALEUS, *De Scriptor. Britann. Centur.* iv. n. 88. p. 367. publiſhed in folio at *Baſil*, A. D. 1557.

[a] It is extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon. inter Clementinas*, lib. v. tit. iii. *De Hæreticis*, cap. iii. p. 1088.

[b] *In Jure Canonico inter Clementinas*, lib. iii. tit. xi. *De religioſis domibus*, cap. i. p. 1075. edit. Bohmer.

[c] For this reaſon, in the German records of this century, we often find a diſtinction of the *Beguines* into thoſe of *the right and approved claſs*, and thoſe of *the ſublime and free ſpirit*; the former of whom adhered to the public religion, while the latter were corrupted by the opinions of the *Myſtics*.

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the deſign of removing from *Upper Germany* into the lower parts of the empire; and this emigration was ſo far put in execution, as that *Weſtphalia* was the only province which refuſed admiſſion to theſe diſperſed fanatics, and was free from their diſturbances. This was owing to the provident meaſures of HENRY, archbiſhop of *Cologn*, who, having called a council, A. D. 1322, ſeriouſly admoniſhed the biſhops of his province of the approaching danger, and thus excited them to exert their utmoſt vigilance to prevent any of theſe people from coming into *Weſtphalia*. About the ſame time the *Beggards* [*d*] upon the *Rhine* loſt their chief leader and champion, WALTER, a Dutchman, of remarkable eloquence, and famous for his writings, who came from *Mentz* to *Cologn*, where he was apprehended and burnt [*e*]. The

☞ [*d*] By *Beggards* here Dr. MOSHEIM means particularly the *Brethren of the free ſpirit*, who frequently paſſed under this denomination.

[*e*] Jo. TRITHEMII *Annal. Hirſuag.* tom. ii. p. 155.—SCHATEN, *Annal. Paderborn.* tom. ii. p. 250.—This is that famous WALTER, whom ſo many eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians have repreſented as the founder of the ſect of the *Lollards*, and as an eminent martyr to their cauſe. Learned men conclude all this and more from the following words of TRITHEMIUS. *But that ſame* WALTER *Lohareus* (ſo it ſtands in my copy, though I fancy it ought to have been *Lollhardus*; eſpecially as TRITHEMIUS, according to the cuſtom of his time, frequently uſes this word when treating of the ſects that diſſented from the church) *a native of Holland, was not well verſed in the Latin tongue.* I ſay, from this ſhort paſſage, learned men have concluded that WALTER's ſurname was *Lollhard*; from whence, as from its founder and maſter, they ſuppoſed his ſect derived the name of *Lollards*. But it is very evident, not only from this, but from many other paſſages of TRITHEMIUS, that *Lollhard* was no ſurname, but merely a term of reproach applied to all heretics whatever who concealed the poiſon of error under the appearance of piety. TRITHEMIUS, ſpeaking of the very ſame man, in a paſſage which occurs a little before that we have juſt quoted, calls him *the head of the Fratricelli*, or *Minorites*: but the term *Minorites* was a very extenſive one, including people of various ſects. This

The death of this perſon was highly detrimental to the affairs of the *Brethren of the free ſpirit*, but did not, however, ruin their cauſe nor extirpate their ſect. For it appears from innumerable teſtimonies, that theſe people, for a long time afterwards, not only held their private aſſemblies at *Cologn*, and in many other provinces of *Germany*, but alſo that they had ſeveral men among them of high rank and great learning, of which number HENRY AYCARDUS, or ECCARD, a Saxon, was the moſt famous. He was a Dominican, and alſo the ſuperior of that order in *Saxony*; a man of a ſubtile genius, and one who had acquitted himſelf with reputation as profeſſor of divinity at *Paris* [*f*]. In the year 1330, pope JOHN XXII. endeavoured to ſuppreſs this obſtinate ſect by a new and ſevere conſtitution, in which the errors of the ſect of the *free ſpirit* are marked out in a more diſtinct and accurate manner than in the *Clementina* [*g*]. But his attempt was fruitleſs, the diſorder continued, and was combated both by the inquiſitors and biſhops in moſt parts of *Europe* to the end of this century.

VI. The *Clementina*, or conſtitution of the council of *Vienne* againſt the *Beguines*, or thoſe

The perſecution of the Beguines, and its tragical concluſion.

This WALTER embraced the opinions of the *Myſtics*, and was the principal doctor among thoſe *Brethren of the free ſpirit*, who lived on the banks of the *Rhine*.

[*f*] See ECHARDI *Scripter. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 507.—ODOR. RAYNALDUS, *Annal.* tom. xv. *ad A.* 1329, § lxx. p. 389.

[*g*] This new conſtitution of JOHN XXII, was never publiſhed entire. It began with the following words: *In agro Dominico*, and was inſcribed thus, *contra ſingularia dubia, ſuſpecta, et temeraria, quæ Beghardi et Beghinæ prædicant et obſervant.* We are favoured with a ſummary of it by HERM. CORNERUS, in *Chronico*, in ECCARDI *Corpore Hiſtor. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 1035, 1036. It is alſo mentioned by PAUL LANGIUS, in *Chronico Citizenſi*, in Jo. PISTORII *Scriptor. rerum German.* tom. i. p. 1206.

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female ſocieties, who lived together in fixed habitations, under a common rule of pious diſcipline and virtuous induſtry, gave riſe to a perſecution of theſe people, which laſted till the reformation by LUTHER, and ruined the cauſe both of the *Beguines* and *Beggards* in many places. For though the pope, in his laſt *conſtitution*, had permitted pious women to live as nuns in a ſtate of celibacy, with or without taking the vow, and refuſed a toleration only to ſuch of them as were corrupted with the opinions of the *Brethren of the free ſpirit*; yet the vaſt number of enemies which the *Beguines* and *Beggards* had, partly among the mechanics, eſpecially the weavers, and partly among the prieſts and monks, took a handle from the *Clementina* to moleſt the *Beguines* in their houſes, to ſeize and deſtroy their goods, to offer them many other inſults, and to involve the *Beggards* in the like perſecution. The Roman pontif, JOHN XXII., afforded the *Beguines* ſome relief under theſe oppreſſions, in the year 1324, by means of a ſpecial *conſtitution*, in which he gave a favourable explication of the *Clementina*, and ordered that the goods, chattels, habitations, and ſocieties of the innocent *Beguines* ſhould be preſerved from every kind of violence and inſult; which example of clemency and moderation was afterwards followed by other popes. On the other hand, the *Beguines*, in hopes of diſappointing more effectually the malicious attempts of their enemies, and avoiding their ſnares, embraced in many places the third rule of St. FRANCIS, and of the AUGUSTINES. Yet all theſe meaſures in their favour could not prevent the loſs both of their reputation and ſubſtance; for from this time they were oppreſſed in ſeveral provinces by the magiſtrates, the clergy, and the monks, who had caſt a greedy eye upon their treaſures,

ſures, and were extremely eager to divide the ſpoil [*b*].

VII. Some years before the middle of this century, while *Germany* and many other parts of *Europe* were diſtreſſed with various calamities, the *Flagellants*, a ſect forgotten almoſt every where, and eſpecially in *Germany*, made their appearance anew, and, rambling through many provinces, occaſioned great diſturbances. Theſe new *Flagellants*, whoſe enthuſiaſm infected every rank, ſex, and age, were much worſe than the old ones. They not only ſuppoſed that God might be prevailed upon to ſhew mercy to thoſe who underwent voluntary puniſhments, but propagated other tenets highly injurious to religion. They held, among other things, "That flagella-"tion was of equal virtue with baptiſm, and the "other ſacraments: that the forgiveneſs of all "ſins was to be obtained by it from God, with-"out the merits of JESUS CHRIST; that the old "law of CHRIST was ſoon to be aboliſhed, and "that a new law, enjoining the baptiſm of blood, "to be adminiſtered by whipping, was to be "ſubſtituted in its place," with other tenets more or leſs enormous than theſe; whereupon CLEMENT VII. thundered out anathemas againſt the Flagellants, who were burnt by the *inquiſitors* in ſeveral places. It was, however, found as

The ſect of the Flagellants appears again.

[*b*] I have collected a great number of particulars relating to this long perſecution of the *Beguines*. But the moſt copious of all the writers who have publiſhed any thing upon this ſubject (eſpecially if we conſider his account of his perſecution at *Baſil*, and MULBERGIUS, the moſt inveterate enemy of the *Beguines*), is CHRISTIANUS WURSTISEN, or URSTISIUS, in his *Chronicum Baſilienſe*, written in German, lib. iv. cap. ix. p. 201. publiſhed in folio at *Baſil*, 1580. There are now in my hands, and alſo in many libraries, MSS. tracts of this celebrated MULBERGIUS, written againſt the *Beguines* in the following century.

difficult

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difficult to extirpate them, as it had been to ſuppreſs the other ſects of wandering fanatics [*i*].

The ſect of the Dancers.

VIII. Directly the reverſe of this melancholy ſect was the merry one of the *Dancers*, which, in the year 1373, aroſe at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, from whence it ſpread through the diſtrict of *Liege*, *Hainault*, and other parts of *Flanders*. It was cuſtomary among the fanatics for perſons of both ſexes, publicly, as well as in private, to fall a dancing all of a ſudden, and, holding each others hands, to continue their motions with extraordinary violence, till, being almoſt ſuffocated, they fell down breathleſs together; and they affirmed, that, during theſe intervals of vehement agitation, they were favoured with wonderful viſions. Like the *Flagellants*, they wandered about from place to place, had recourſe to begging for their ſubſiſtence, treated with the utmoſt contempt both the prieſthood and the public rites and worſhip of the church, and held ſecret aſſemblies. Such was the nature, and ſuch the circumſtances of this new frenzy, which the ignorant clergy of this age looked upon as the work of evil demons, who poſſeſſed, as they thought, this dancing tribe. Accordingly the prieſts of *Liege* endeavoured to caſt out the devils, which rendered theſe fanatics ſo merry, by ſinging hymns and applying fumigations of incenſe: and they gravely tell us, that the evil ſpirit was entirely vanquiſhed by theſe powerful charms [*k*].

IX.

[*i*] See BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 160. 316. 319. & *Miſcellan.* tom. i. p. 50.—MATTHÆI *Analecta vet. ævi*, tom. i. p. 50. tom. iii. p. 241. tom. iv. p. 145.—HERM. GYGIS, *Flores tempor.* p. 139.

[*k*] See BALUZII *Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 485.—ANT. MATTHÆI *Analecta vet. ævi*, tom. i. p. 51. where we find the following paſſage in the Belgic chronicle, which gives but an obſcure account of the ſect in queſtion: *A.* 1374. *Gingen* DE DANSERS,

IX. The moſt heinous and abominable tribe of heretics that infected this century (if the enormities, with which they ſtand charged, be true), were the *Knights Templars*, who had been eſtabliſhed in *Paleſtine* about two hundred years before this period, and who are repreſented as enemies and deriders of all religion. Their principal accuſer indeed was a perſon whoſe teſtimony ought not to be admitted without caution. This accuſer was PHILIP the Fair, who addreſſed his complaints of the *Templars* to CLEMENT V., who was himſelf an avaricious, vindictive, and turbulent prince. The pope, though at firſt unwilling to proceed againſt them, was under a neceſſity of complying with the king's deſire; ſo that, in the year 1307, upon an appointed day, and for ſome time afterwards, all the knights, who were diſperſed throughout *Europe*, and not in the leaſt apprehenſive of any impending evil, were ſeized and impriſoned. Such of them as refuſed to confeſs the enormities of which they were accuſed, were put to death; and thoſe who, by tortures and promiſes, were induced to acknowledge the truth of what was laid to their charge, obtained their liberty. In the year 1311, the whole order was extinguiſhed by the council of *Vienne*. A part of the rich revenues they poſſeſſed was beſtowed upon other orders, eſpecially on the knights of St. JOHN, now of *Malta*, and the reſt confiſcated to the reſpective treaſuries of the ſovereign princes in whoſe dominions their poſſeſſions lay.

The Knights Templars extirpated.

X. The *Knights Templars*, if their judges be worthy of credit, were a ſet of men who inſulted the majeſty of God, turned into deriſion the go-

The intolerable impiety of the Knights Templars is aſſigned as the cauſe of this ſeverity.

DANSERS, and then in Latin, *Gens, impacata cadit, cruciata ſalvat*. The French *convulſioniſts* (or prophets), who in our age were remarkable for the vehemence and variety of their agitations, greatly reſembled *theſe brethren and ſiſter Dancers*.

ſpel

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ſpel of CHRIST, and trampled upon the obligation of all laws human and divine. For it is affirmed, that candidates, upon their admiſſion to this order, were commanded to ſpit, as a mark of contempt, upon an image of CHRIST; and that, after admiſſion, they were bound to worſhip either a cat, or wooden head covered with gold. It is farther affirmed, that among them, the odious and unnatural act of ſodomy was a matter of obligation; that they committed to the flames the unhappy fruit of their lawleſs amours; and added to theſe, other crimes too horrible to be mentioned, or even imagined. It will indeed be readily allowed that in this order, as in all the other religious ſocieties of this age, there were ſhocking examples of impiety and wickedneſs; but that the whole order of the *Templars* was thus enormouſly corrupt, is ſo far from being proved, that the contrary may be concluded even from the acts and records, yet extant, of the tribunals before which they were tried and examined. If to this we add, that many of the accuſations advanced againſt them flatly contradict each other, and that many members of this unfortunate order ſolemnly avowed their innocence, while languiſhing under the ſevereſt tortures, and even with their dying breath; it would ſeem probable, that king PHILIP ſet on foot this bloody tragedy, with a view to gratify his avarice, and glut his reſentment againſt the *Templars* [*l*], and eſpecially againſt

A reflection concerning the crimes laid to their charge.

[*l*] See the *Acts* annexed to PUTEAN'S *Hiſtoire de la Condemnation des Templiers*, and other writings of his, relating to the hiſtory of *France*, publiſhed in 4to, at *Paris*, 1654. Another edition of this book was printed in 8vo, at *Paris*, 1685: another at *Bruſſels*, 1713, two volumes in 8vo. The fourth, and moſt valuable of all, was publiſhed in 4to, at *Bruſſels*, 1751, enlarged by the addition of a great number of proofs, by which every diligent and impartial reader will be convinced that the Templars were greatly injured. See alſo NICOLAI GURTLERI *Hiſtoria*

againſt their grand maſter, who had highly offended him. CENT. XIV. SECT. II.

Hiſtoria Templariorum, Amſtelod 1703, in 8vo. If the reader has opportunity, he would do well to conſult STEPH. BALUZIUS, *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 8. 11, 12, &c. GERM. DU BOIS, *Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Pariſ.* tom. ii. p. 540. The principal cauſe of king PHILIP's indelible hatred againſt the Templars, was, that, in his quarrel with BONIFACE VIII., the knights eſpouſed the cauſe of the pope, and furniſhed him with money to carry on the war; an offence this, which PHILIP could never pardon.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the proſperous events that happened to the Church during this century.

CENT. XV. PART I.

The Moors and Jews converted in *Spain* by force.

I. THE new ſubjects, that were added to the kingdom of CHRIST in this century, are altogether unworthy of that ſublime title, unleſs we proſtitute it by applying it to thoſe who made an external, though inſincere, profeſſion of Chriſtianity. FERDINAND, ſurnamed the *Catholic*, by the conqueſt of *Granada* in the year 1492, entirely overturned the dominion of the Moors, or Saracens, in *Spain*. Some time after this happy revolution, he iſſued out a ſentence of baniſhment againſt a prodigious multitude of Jews, who, to avoid the execution of this ſevere decree, diſſembled their ſentiments, and feigned an aſſent to the Goſpel of CHRIST [*a*]: and it is well known that, to this very day, there are both in *Spain* and *Portugal* a great number of that diſperſed and wretched people, who wear the outward maſk of Chriſtianity, to ſecure them againſt the rage of

[*a*] JO. DE FERRERAS, *Hiſt. Generale d'Eſpagne*, tom. viii. p. 123. 132, &c.

perſecution,

perſecution, and to advance their worldly intereſts. The myriads of Saracens, that remained in *Spain* after the diſſolution of their government, were at firſt ſolicited by exhortations and intreaties to embrace the Goſpel. When theſe gentle methods proved ineffectual to bring about their converſion, the famous XIMENES, archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and prime-miniſter of the kingdom, judged it expedient to try the force of the ſecular arm, in order to accompliſh that ſalutary purpoſe. But even this rigorous meaſure was without the deſired effect: the greateſt part of the Mahometans perſiſted, with aſtoniſhing obſtinacy, in their fervent attachment to their voluptuous prophet [*b*].

II. The light of the Goſpel was alſo carried in this century among the Samogetæ and the neighbouring nations, but with leſs fruit than was expected [*c*]. Towards the concluſion of this age, the Portugueſe, who cultivated with ardor and ſucceſs the art of navigation, had penetrated as far as *Æthiopia* and the *Indies*. In the year 1492, CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, by diſcovering the iſlands of *Hiſpaniola*, *Cuba*, and *Jamaica*, opened a paſſage into *America* [*d*], and after him AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, a citizen of *Florence*, landed on the continent of that vaſt region [*e*]. The new Argonauts, who diſcovered theſe nations that had been hitherto unknown to the inhabitants of *Europe*, judged it their duty to enlighten them with the knowledge of the truth. The firſt attempt of this pious nature was made by the Por-

The Samogetæ and Indians converted.

[*b*] ESPRIT FLECHIER. *Hiſtoire du Cardinal Ximenes*, p. 89. —GEDDES, *Hiſtory of the Expulſion of the Moriſcoes*, in his *Miſcellaneous Tracts*, tom. i. p. 8.

[*c*] Jo. HENRY HOTTINGER. *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Sæc.* XV. p. 856.

[*d*] See CHARLEVOIX, *Hiſtoire de l'Iſle de St. Domingo*, tom. i. p. 64.

[*e*] See the *Life of Americus Veſputius*, written in Italian by the learned ANGELI MARIA BANDINI.

tugueſe among thoſe Africans, who inhabit the kingdom of *Congo*, and who, together with their monarch, were converted all of a ſudden to the Roman faith in the year 1491 [*f*]. But what muſt we think of a converſion brought about with ſuch aſtoniſhing rapidity, and of a people which all at once, without heſitation, abandon their ancient and inveterate prejudices? Has not ſuch a converſion a ridiculous, or rather an afflicting, aſpect? After this religious revolution in *Africa*, ALEXANDER VI. gave a rare ſpecimen of papal preſumption, in dividing *America* between the Portugueſe and Spaniards; but ſhewed at the ſame time his zeal for the propagation of the Goſpel, by the ardor with which he recommended to theſe two nations the inſtruction and converſion of the Americans, both in the iſles and on the continent of that immenſe region [*g*]. In conſequence of this exhortation of the pontif, a great number of Franciſcans and Dominicans were ſent into theſe countries to enlighten their darkneſs, and the ſucceſs of their miſſions is abundantly known [*h*].

[*f*] LABAT, *Relation de l'Ethiope Occidentale*, tom. ii. p. 366. —JOS. FRANC. LAFITAU. *Hiſtoire des decouvertes des Portugais dans le nouveau Monde*, tom. i. p. 72.

[*g*] See the *Bull* itſelf, in the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. i. p. 466.

[*h*] See THOM. MARIA MAMACHIUS, *Orig. et Antiquitat. Chriſtianar.* tom. ii. p. 326. where we have an account of the gradual introduction of the Chriſtian religion into *America*.—See alſo WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. xv. p. 10.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the Church during this century.

CENT. XV. PART I.

The decline of Chriſtianity in the Eaſt.

I. IN the vaſt regions of the eaſtern world, Chriſtianity loſt ground from day to day, and the Mahometans, whether Turks or Tartars, united their barbarous efforts to extinguiſh its bright and ſalutary luſtre. *Aſiatic Tartary*, *Mogol*, *Tangut* and the adjacent provinces, where the religion of JESUS had long flouriſhed, were now become the diſmal ſeats of ſuperſtition, which reigned among them under the vileſt forms. Nor in theſe immenſe tracts of land were there at this time any traces of Chriſtianity viſible, except in *China*, where the Neſtorians ſtill preſerved ſome ſcattered remains of their former glory, and appeared like a faint and dying taper in the midſt of a dark and gloomy firmament. That ſome Neſtorian churches were ſtill ſubſiſting in theſe regions of darkneſs is undoubtedly certain; for in this century the Neſtorian pontif, in *Chaldea*, ſent miſſionaries into *Cathay* and *China*, who were empowered to exerciſe the authority of biſhops over the Chriſtian aſſemblies, which lay concealed in the remoter provinces of theſe great empires [*i*]. It is at the ſame time almoſt equally certain, that even theſe aſſemblies did not ſurvive this century.

Conſtantinople taken by the Turks.

II. The ruin of the Grecian empire was a new ſource of calamities to the Chriſtian church in the greateſt part of *Europe* and *Aſia*. When the Turks, headed by MAHOMET II., an accompliſhed prince

[*i*] This circumſtance was communicated to the author in a letter from the learned Mr. THEOPHILUS SIGIFRED BAYER, one of the greateſt adepts in Eaſtern Hiſtory and Antiquities, that this or any other age has produced.

and a formidable warrior, had made themſelves maſters of *Conſtantinople*, in the year 1453; the cauſe of Chriſtianity received a blow from which it has never, as yet, recovered. Its adherents in theſe parts had no reſources left, which could enable them to maintain it againſt the perpetual inſults of their fierce and incenſed victors; nor could they ſtem that torrent of barbariſm and ignorance that ruſhed in with the triumphant arms of MAMOMET, and overſpread *Greece* with a fatal rapidity. The Turks took one part of the city of *Conſtantinople* by force of arms; the other ſurrendered upon terms [*k*]. Hence it was, that in the former the public profeſſion of the Goſpel was prohibited, and every veſtige of Chriſtianity effaced; while the inhabitants of the latter were permitted to retain their churches and monaſteries during the whole courſe of this century, and to worſhip God according to the precepts of the Goſpel and the dictates of their conſciences. This precious liberty was, indeed, conſiderably diminiſhed under the reign of SELIM I., and the Chriſtian worſhip was loaded with ſevere and deſpotic reſtrictions [*l*]. The outward form of the Chriſtian church was not, indeed, either changed or deſtroyed by the Turks; but its luſtre was eclipſed, its ſtrength was undermined, and it was gradually extenuated to a mere ſhadow under their tyrannic empire. The Roman pontif PIUS II. wrote a warm and urgent letter to MAHOMET II., to perſuade that prince to profeſs the Goſpel; but this letter is equally deſtitute of piety and prudence [*m*].

☞[*k*] In this account Dr. MOSHEIM has followed the Turkiſh writers. And indeed their account is much more probable than that of the Latin and Greek hiſtorians, who ſuppoſe, that the whole city was taken by force, and not by capitulation. The Turkiſh relation diminiſhes the glory of their conqueſt, and therefore probably would not have been adopted, had it not been true.

[*l*] DEMET CANTEMIR, *Hiſtoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. i. p. 11. 46. 54. 55.

[*m*] BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, at the article MAHOMET II.

PART II.

The Internal HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the ſtate of letters and philoſophy during this century.

Learning flouriſhes among the Latins.

I. THE Grecian and Oriental Muſes languiſhed under the deſpotic yoke of the Mahometans, their voices were mute, and their harps unſtrung. The republic of letters had a quite different aſpect in the Latin world, where the liberal arts and ſciences were cultivated with zeal and ſpirit under the moſt auſpicious encouragements, and recovered their ancient luſtre and glory. Several of the popes became their zealous patrons and protectors, among whom NICHOLAS V. deſerves an eminent and diſtinguiſhed rank; the munificence and authority of kings and princes were alſo nobly exerted in this excellent cauſe, and animated men of learning and genius to diſplay their talents. The illuſtrious family of the MEDICIS in *Italy* [*n*], ALPHONSUS VI., king of *Naples*, and the other Neapolitan monarchs of the houſe of *Arragon* [*o*], acquired immortal re-

[*n*] We have a full account of the obligations which the republic of letters has to the family of MEDICIS, in a valuable work of JOSEPH BIANCHINI DE PRATO, *Del gran Duchi di Toſcana della neale Caſa de Medici, Protettori delle Lettere et delle Belle Arti, Ragionamenti Hiſtorici*, publiſhed in folio at *Venice*, in 1741.

[*o*] See GIANNONE, *Hiſtoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iii. p. 500. 628.—ANTON. PANORMITANI *Dicta et Facta memorabilia Alphonſi* I., *denuo Edita à* Jo. GERH. MEUSCHENIO *Vit. Erud. Viror.* tom. ii. p. 1.

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nown by their love of letters, their liberality to the learned, and their ardent zeal for the advancement of ſcience. Hence the academies that were founded in *Germany*, *France*, and *Italy*, the libraries that were collected at a prodigious expence, and the honours and rewards that were propoſed to the ſtudious youth, to animate their induſtry by the views of intereſt and the deſire of glory. To all theſe happy circumſtances, in favour of the ſciences, was now added an admirable diſcovery, which contributed as much as any thing elſe to their propagation, I mean the *art of printing*; firſt with wooden, and afterwards with metal types, which was invented about the year 1440, at *Mentz*, by JOHN GUTTEMBERG. By the ſuccours of this incomparable art, the productions of the moſt eminent Greek and Latin writers, which had lain concealed, before this intereſting period, in the libraries of the monks, were now ſpread abroad with facility, and peruſed by many, who could never have had acceſs to them under their primitive form [*p*]. The peruſal of theſe noble

☞ [*p*] Dr. MOSHEIM decides here, that GUTTEMBERG of *Mentz* was the firſt inventor of the art of printing; but this notion is oppoſed with zeal by ſeveral men of learning. Among the many treatiſes that have been publiſhed upon this ſubject, there is none compoſed with more erudition and judgment than that of profeſſor SCHOEPFLIN of *Straſbourg*, in which the learned author undertakes to prove, that the art of printing, by the means of letters engraven on plates of wood, was invented at *Haerlem* by COSTER; that the method of printing, by moveable types, was the diſcovery of JOHN GUTTEMBERG, a diſcovery made during his reſidence at *Straſbourg*; and that the ſtill more perfect manner of printing with types of metal caſt in a mould, was the contrivance of JOHN SCHOEFFER, and was firſt practiſed at *Mentz*. This learned work, in which the author examines the opinions of MARCHAND, FOURNIER, and other writers, was publiſhed in the year 1760 at *Straſbourg* under the following title: JO. DANIELIS SCHOEPFLINI *Conſil. Reg. ac Franciæ Hiſtoriogr.* VINDICIÆ TYPOGRAPHICÆ, &c.*

☞ * So this note ſtands in the firſt edition of this Hiſtory in 4to. Since that time, the very learned and ingenious Mr. GERARD MEERMAN, penſionary

noble compoſitions purified the taſte, excited the emulation of men of genius, and animated them with a noble ambition of excelling in the ſame way [*q*].

The calamities of the Greeks conduce to the advancement of learning among the Latins.

II. The downfal of the Grecian empire contributed greatly to the propagation and advancement of learning in the weſt. For, after the reduction of *Conſtantinople*, the moſt eminent of the Greek *Literati* paſſed into *Italy*, and were from thence diſperſed into the other countries of *Europe*, where, to gain ſubſiſtence, theſe venerable exiles inſtructed every where the youth in Grecian erudition, and propagated throughout the weſtern world the love of learning, and a true and elegant taſte for the ſciences. Hence it was, that every noted city and univerſity poſſeſſed one or more of theſe learned Greeks, who formed the ſtudious youth to literary purſuits [*r*]. But they received no where ſuch encouraging marks of protection and eſteem as in *Italy*, where they were honoured in a ſingular manner in various cities, and were more eſpecially diſtinguiſhed by the family of MEDICIS, whoſe liberality to the learned had no bounds. It was conſequently in *Italy* that theſe ingenious fugitives were moſt numerous;

[*q*] MICH. MATTAIRE, *Annales Typographici*.—PROSP. MARCHAND, *Hiſtoire de l'Imprimerie, Haye*, 1740.

[*r*] JO. HENR. MAII *Vita Reuchlini*, p. 11. 13. 19. 28. 152, 153. 165.—CASP. BARTHIUS *ad Statium*, tom. ii. p. 1008.—BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad.* tom. v. p. 692.

penſionary of *Rotterdam* has publiſhed his laborious and intereſting account of the origin and invention of the art of printing, under the following title: *Origines Typographicæ*, which ſets this matter in its true light, by making certain diſtinctions unknown to the writers who have treated this ſubject before him. According to the hypotheſis of this learned writer (an hypotheſis ſupported by irreſiſtible proofs), LAURENT. COSTER, of *Haerlem*, invented the moveable *wooden* types.—GENFLEISH and GUTTEMBERG carved *metallic* types at *Mentz*, which, though ſuperior to the former, were ſtill imperfect, becauſe often unequal.—SCHOEFFER perfected the invention at *Straſbourg* by caſting the types in an iron *mould*, or *matrix*, engraved with a puncheon. Thus the queſtion is decided.—LAURENT. COSTER is evidently the inventor of printing; the others only rendered the art more perfect.

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and hence that country became, in ſome meaſure, the centre of the arts and ſciences, and the general rendezvous of all who were ambitious of literary glory [*s*].

Philology, poetry, and languages cultivated.

III. The greateſt part of the learned men, who adorned at this time the various provinces of *Italy*, were principally employed in publiſhing accurate and elegant editions of the moſt eminent Greek and Latin authors, illuſtrating theſe authors with uſeful commentaries, in ſtudying them as their models both in poetry and proſe, and in caſting light upon the precious remains of antiquity, that were diſcovered from day to day. In all theſe branches of literature, many arrived at ſuch degrees of excellence, as it is almoſt impoſſible to ſurpaſs, and extremely difficult to equal. Nor were the other languages and ſciences neglected. In the univerſity of *Paris*, there was now a public profeſſor, not only of the Greek, but alſo of the Hebrew tongue [*t*]; and in *Spain* and *Italy* the ſtudy of that language, and of Oriental learning, and antiquities in general, was purſued with the greateſt ſucceſs [*u*]. JOHN REUCHLINUS, otherwiſe called CAPNION, and TRITHEMIUS, who had made a vaſt progreſs both in the ſtudy of the languages and of the ſciences, were the reſtorers of ſolid learning among the *Germans* [*w*];

[*s*] For a farther account of this intereſting period of the Hiſtory of Learning, the reader may conſult the learned Work of HUMPHR. HODY, *De Græcis illuſtribus literarum Græcarum in Italia inſtauratoribus*, publiſhed in 8vo at *Leipſic*, in the year 1750. To which may added, SAM. BATTIERII *Oratio de inſtauratoribus Græcarum literarum*, publiſhed in the *Muſeum Helveticum*, tom. iv. p. 163.

[*t*] R. SIMON, *Critique de la Bibl. Eccleſ. par* DU PIN, tom. i. p. 502. 512.—BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Pariſ.* tom. v. p. 852.

[*u*] PAULI COLUMESII *Italia Orientalis*, p. 4. et *Hiſpania Orientalis*, p. 212.

[*w*] R. SIMON, *Lettres Choiſies*, tom. i. p. 262. tom. iv. p. 131. 140.

Latin

Latin poetry was revived by ANTONIUS PANORMITANUS, who excited a ſpirit of emulation among the favourites of the Muſes, and had many followers in that ſublime art [x]; while CYRIAC of *Ancona*, by his own example, introduced a taſte for coins, medals, inſcriptions, gems, and other precious monuments of antiquity, of which he himſelf made a large collection in *Italy* [y].

The ſtate of the Ariſtotelian and Platonic philoſophy.

IV. It is not neceſſary to give here a peculiar and minute account of the other branches of literature that flouriſhed in this century; nevertheleſs, the ſtate of philoſophy deſerves a moment's attention. Before the arrival of the Greeks in *Italy*, ARISTOTLE reigned unrivalled there, and captivated, as it were by a ſort of enchantment, all without exception, whoſe genius led them to philoſophical enquiries. The veneration that was ſhewn him degenerated into a fooliſh and extravagant enthuſiaſm; the encomiums with which he was loaded ſurpaſſed the bounds of decency; and many carried matters ſo far as to compare him with the reſpectable precurſor of the Meſſiah [z]. This violent paſſion for the Stagirite was however abated, or rather was rendered leſs univerſal, by the influence which the Grecian ſages, and particularly GEMESTIUS PLETHO, acquired among the Latins, many of whom they perſuaded to abandon the contentious and ſubtile doctrine of the Peripatetics, and to ſubſtitute in its place the mild and divine wiſdom of PLATO. It was in the year 1439, about the time

[x] BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article PANORMIT.

[y] See the *Itinerarium* of CYRIAC of *Ancona*, publiſhed at *Florence* in the year 1742, in 8vo, by Mr. LAWRENCE MEHUS, from the original manuſcript, together with a Preface, Annotations, and ſeveral letters of this learned man, who may be conſidered as the firſt antiquarian that appeared in *Europe*. — See alſo LEON. ARETINI *Epiſtolæ*, tom. ii. lib. ix. p. 149.

[z] See CHRIST. AUG. HEUMANNI *Acta Philoſophorum*, tom. iii. p. 345.

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of the famous council of *Florence*, that this revolution happened in the empire of philoſophy. Several illuſtrious perſonages among the Latins, charmed with the ſublime ſentiments and doctrines of PLATO, had them propagated among the ſtudious youth, and particularly among thoſe of a certain rank and figure. The moſt eminent patron of this *divine* philoſophy, as it was termed by its votaries, was COSMO DE MEDICIS, who had no ſooner heard the lectures of PLETHO, than he formed the deſign of founding a Platonic academy at *Florence*. For this purpoſe he ordered MARSILIUS FICINUS, the ſon of his firſt phyſician, to be carefully inſtructed in the doctrines of the Athenian ſage, and, in general, in the language and philology of the Greeks, that he might tranſlate into Latin the productions of the moſt renowned Platoniſts. FICINUS anſwered well the expectations, and executed the intentions of his illuſtrious patron, by tranſlating ſucceſſively into the Latin language the celebrated works of HERMES TRISMEGISTUS, PLOTINUS, and PLATO. The ſame excellent prince encouraged by his munificence, and animated by his protection, many learned men, ſuch as AMBROSE of *Camaldoli*, LEONARDO BRUNO, POGGE, and others, to undertake works of a like nature, even to enrich the Latin literature with tranſlations of the beſt Greek writers. The conſequence of all this was, that two philoſophical ſects aroſe in *Italy*, who debated for a long time (with the warmeſt animoſity in a multitude of learned and contentious productions) this important queſtion, which of the two was the greateſt philoſopher, ARISTOTLE or PLATO [*a*]?

V. Be-

[*a*] BOIVIN, *dans L'Hiſtoire de l'Academie des Inſcriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. iv. p. 381.—LAUNOIUS, *De varia fortuna Ariſtotelis*, p. 225.—LEO ALLATIUS, *De Georgiis*, p. 391. —LA

The Platonic Syncretists.

V. Between these two opposite factions, certain eminent men, among both Greeks and Latins, thought proper to steer a middle course. To this class belong JOHANNES PICUS DE MIRANDOLA, BESSARION, HERMOLAUS BARBARUS, and others of less renown, who indeed considered PLATO as the supreme oracle of philosophy, but would by no means suffer ARISTOTLE to be treated with indifference or contempt, and who proposed to reconcile the jarring doctrines of these two famous Grecian sages, and to combine them into one system. These moderate philosophers, both in their manner of teaching, and in the opinions they adopted, followed the modern Platonic school, of which AMMONIUS was the original founder [*b*]. Their sect was, for a long time, held in the utmost veneration, particularly among the Mystics; while the scholastic doctors, and all such as were infected with the itch of disputing, favoured the Peripatetics. But, after all, these reconciling Platonists were chargeable with many errors and follies; they fell into the most childish superstitions, and followed, without either reflection or restraint, the extravagant dictates of their wanton imaginations.

—LA CROZE, *Entretiens sur divers Sujets*, p. 384.—JOSEPH BIANCHINI, in his account of the protection granted to the learned by the house of MEDICIS, which we have mentioned note [*n*].—BRUCKERI *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. p. 62.

☞ It was not only the respective merit of these two philosophers, considered in that point of light, that was debated in this controversy: The principal question was, which of their systems was most conformable to the doctrines of Christianity? And here the Platonic most certainly deserved the preference, as was abundantly proved by PLETHO and others. It is well known, that many of the opinions of ARISTOTLE lead directly to atheism.

[*b*] See BESSARION's Letter in the *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. v. p. 456.—THOMASIUS, *De Syncretismo Peripatetico*, in *Orationibus* ejus, p. 340.

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The followers of Ariſtotle maintain their ſuperiority.

VI. Their ſyſtem of philoſophy was, however, much leſs pernicious than that of the Ariſtotelians, their adverſaries, who ſtill maintained their ſuperiority in *Italy*, and inſtructed the youth in all the public ſchools of learning. For theſe ſubtile doctors, and more eſpecially the followers of AVERROES (who maintained that all the human race were animated by one common ſoul) ſapped imperceptibly the foundations of both natural and revealed religion, and entertained ſentiments very little, if at all, different from that impious pantheiſtical ſyſtem, which confounds the Deity with the univerſe, and acknowledges but one ſelf-exiſtent being, compoſed of *infinite matter* and *infinite intelligence*. The moſt eminent among this claſs of ſophiſts was PETER POMPONACE, a native of *Mantua*, a man of a crafty turn, and an arrogant, enterpriſing ſpirit, who, notwithſtanding the pernicious tendency of his writings (many of which are yet extant) to undermine the principles, and to corrupt the doctrines of religion [*c*], was almoſt univerſally followed by all the profeſſors of philoſophy in the Italian academies. Theſe intricate doctors did not, however, eſcape the notice of the inquiſitors, who, alarmed both by the rapid progreſs and dangerous tendency of their metaphyſical notions, took cognizance of them, and called the Ariſtotelians to give an account of their principles. The latter, tempering their courage with craft, had recourſe to a mean and perfidious ſtratagem to extricate themſelves out of this embarraſſing trial. They pretended to eſtabliſh a wide diſtinction between philoſophical and theological truth; and maintaining that their ſentiments were *philoſophically true*, and conformable to right reaſon, they allowed them to be eſteemed *theologically falſe*, and contrary to

[*c*] See the very learned BRUCKER'S *Hiſtoria Critica Philoſophiæ*, tom. iv. p. 158.

the declarations of the Goſpel. This miſerable and impudent ſubterfuge was condemned and prohibited in the following century by LEO X., in a council held at the Lateran.

The controverſy between Realiſts and Nominaliſts continued.

VII. The *Realiſts* and *Nominaliſts* continued their diſputes in *France* and *Germany* with more vigour and animoſity than ever, and finding reaſon and argument but feeble weapons, they had recourſe to mutual invectives and accuſations, penal laws, and even to the force of arms; a ſtrange method ſurely, of deciding a metaphyſical queſtion. The conteſt was not only warm, but alſo univerſal in its extent; for it infected, almoſt without exception, all the *French* and *German* academies. In moſt places, however, the *Realiſts* maintained a manifeſt ſuperiority over the *Nominaliſts*, to whom they alſo gave the appellation of *Terminiſts* [*d*]. While the famous GERSON and the moſt eminent of his diſciples were living, the *Nominaliſts* were in high eſteem and credit in the univerſity of *Paris*. But, upon the death of theſe powerful and reſpectable patrons, the face of things was entirely changed, and that much to their diſadvantage. In the year 1473, LEWIS XI. by the inſtigation of his confeſſor the biſhop of *Avranches*, iſſued out a ſevere edict againſt the doctrines of the *Nominaliſts*, and ordered all their writings to be ſeized, and ſecured in a ſort of impriſonment, that they might not be peruſed by the people [*e*]. But the ſame monarch mitigated this edict the year following, and permitted ſome of the books of that ſect to be de-

[*d*] See BRUCKER's *Hiſtoria Critica Philoſophiæ*, tom. iii. p. 904.—JO. SALABERTI *Philoſophia Nominalium Vindicata*, cap. i.—BLUZII *Miſcellan.* tom. iv. p. 531.—ARGENTRE, *Collectio documentor. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 220.

[*e*] NAUDE's *Additions à l'Hiſtoire de Louis* XI. p. 203.—DU BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. v. p. 678. 705. 708.—LAUNOY's *Hiſtor. Gymnaſ. Navarr.* tom. iv. opp. part I. p. 201. 378.

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livered from their confinement [*f*]. In the year 1481, he went much farther; and not only granted a full liberty to the *Nominaliſts* and their writings, but alſo reſtored that philoſophical ſect to its former authority and luſtre in the univerſity [*g*].

CHAP. II.

Concerning the doctors and miniſters of the church, and its form of government, during this century.

The vices of the clergy.

I. THE moſt eminent writers of this century unanimouſly lament the miſerable condition to which the Chriſtian church was reduced by the corruption of its miniſters, and which ſeemed to portend nothing leſs than its total ruin, if Providence did not interpoſe, by extraordinary means, for its deliverance and preſervation. The vices that reigned among the Roman pontifs, and indeed among all the eccleſiaſtical order, were ſo flagrant, that the complaints of theſe good men did not appear at all exaggerated, or their apprehenſions ill-founded; nor had any of the corrupt advocates of the clergy the courage to call them to an account for the ſharpneſs of their cenſures and of their complaints. Nay, the more eminent rulers of the church, who lived in a luxurious indolence, and the infamous practice of all kinds of vice, were obliged to hear with a placid countenance, and even to commend, theſe bold cenſors, who declaimed againſt the degeneracy of the church, declared that there was almoſt

[*f*] BOULAY, *loc. cit.* tom. v. p. 710.

[*g*] The proofs of this we find in SALABERT's *Philoſophia Nominal. Vindicata*, cap. i. p. 104.—See alſo BOULAY, *loc. cit.* tom. v. p. 739. 747.

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nothing found either in its visible head, or in its members, and demanded the aid of the secular arm, and the destroying sword, to lop off the parts that were infected with this grievous and deplorable contagion. Things, in short, were brought to such a pass, that they were deemed the best Christians, and the most useful members of society, who, braving the terrors of persecution, and triumphing over the fear of man, inveighed with the greatest freedom and fervor against the court of *Rome*, its lordly pontif, and the whole tribe of his followers and votaries.

The great western schism fomented and continued.

II. At the commencement of this century, the Latin church was divided into two great factions, and was governed by two contending pontifs, BONIFACE IX., who remained at *Rome*, and BENEDICT XIII., who resided at *Avignon*. Upon the death of the former, the *Cardinals* of his party raised to the pontificate, in the year 1404, COSBAT DE MELIORATI, who assumed the name of INNOCENT VII. [*b*], and held that high dignity during the short space of two years only. After his decease, ANGELI CORRARIO, a Venetian cardinal, was chosen in his room, and ruled the Roman faction under the title of GREGORY XII. A plan of reconciliation was however formed, and the contending pontifs bound themselves, each by an oath, to make a voluntary renunciation of the papal chair, if that step were necessary to promote the peace and welfare of the church; but they both violated this solemn obligation in

[*b*] Besides the ordinary writers, who have given us an account of the transactions that happened under the pontificate of INNOCENT VII. see LEON. ARETIN. *Epistol.* lib. i. ep. iv. v. p. 6. 19. 21. lib. ii. p. 30. et COLLUC. SALUTAT. *Epistol.* lib. ii. ep. i. p. 1. 18. edit. *Florent.*—We have also an account of the pontificate of GREGORY, in the *Epistles* of the same ARETIN, lib. ii. iii. p. 32. ep. vii. p. 30. 41. 51. lib. ii. ep. xvii. p. 54. 56. 59.—Jo. LAMI *Deliciæ Eruditorum*, tom. x. p. 494.

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a ſcandalous manner. BENEDICT XIII., beſieged in *Avignon* by the king of *France*, in the year 1408, ſaved himſelf by flight, retiring firſt into *Catalonia*, his native country, and afterwards to *Perpignan*. Hence eight or nine of the cardinals, who adhered to his cauſe, ſeeing themſelves deſerted by their pope, went over to the other ſide, and, joining publicly with the cardinals of GREGORY XII., they agreed together to aſſemble a council at *Piſa* on the 25th of March, 1409, in order to heal the diviſions and factions that had ſo long rent the papal empire. This council, however, which was deſigned to cloſe the wounds of the church, had an effect quite contrary to that which was univerſally expected, and only ſerved to open a new breach, and to excite new diviſions. Its proceedings, indeed, were vigorous, and its meaſures were accompanied with a juſt ſeverity. A heavy ſentence of condemnation was pronounced the 5th day of June, againſt the contending pontifs, who were both declared guilty of hereſy, perjury, and contumacy, unworthy of the ſmalleſt tokens of honour or reſpect, and ſeparated *ipſo facto* from the communion of the church. This ſtep was followed by the election of *one* pontif in their place. The election was made on the 25th of June, and fell upon PETER of CANDIA, known in the papal liſt by the name of ALEXANDER V. [*i*]; but all the decrees and proceedings of this famous council were treated with contempt by the condemned pontifs, who continued to enjoy the privileges and to perform the functions of the papacy, as if no attempts had been made to remove them from that dignity. BENEDICT aſſembled a council at *Perpignan*; and GREGORY, ano-

[*i*] See LENFANT's *Hiſtoire du Concile de Piſe*, publiſhed in 4to at *Amſterdam*, in the year 1724.—FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontif. Romanor.* tom. iv. p. 350.—BOSSUET, *Defenſio Decreti Gallicani de Poteſtate Eccleſiaſtica*, tom. ii. p. 17, &c.

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ther at *Auſtria* near *Aquileia*, in the diſtrict of *Friuli*. The latter, however, apprehending the reſentment of the Venetians [*k*], made his eſcape in a clandeſtine manner from the territory of *Aquileia*, arrived at *Caieta*, where he threw himſelf upon the protection of LADISLAUS, king of *Naples*, and, in the year 1412, fled from thence to *Rimini*.

The council of *Conſtance* aſſembled by the emperor Sigiſmund.

III. Thus was the Chriſtian church divided into three great factions, and its government violently carried on by three contending chiefs, who loaded each other with reciprocal maledictions, calumnies, and excommunications. ALEXANDER V., who had been elected pontif at the council of *Piſa*, died at *Bologna* in the year 1410; and the ſixteen cardinals, who attended him in that city, immediately filled up the vacancy, by chuſing as his ſucceſſor BALTHASAR COSSA, a Neapolitan, who was deſtitute of all principles both of religion and probity, and who aſſumed the title of JOHN XXIII. The duration of this ſchiſm in the papacy was a ſource of many calamities, and became daily more detrimental both to the civil and religious intereſts of thoſe nations where the flame raged. Hence it was, that the emperor SIGISMUND, the king of *France*, and ſeveral other European princes, employed all their zeal and activity, and ſpared neither labour nor expence, in reſtoring the tranquillity of the church, and uniting it again under one ſpiritual head. On the other hand, the pontifs could not be perſuaded by any means to prefer the peace of the church to the gratification of their ambition; ſo that no other poſſible method of accommodating this weighty matter remained, than the aſſembling of a general council, in which the controverſy

☞ [*k*] He had offended the Venetians by depoſing their patriarch ANTONY PANCIARINI, and putting ANTONY DU PONT, the biſhop of *Concordia*, in his place.

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might be examined, and terminated by the judgment and deciſion of the univerſal church. This council was accordingly ſummoned to meet at *Conſtance*, in the year 1414, by JOHN XXIII., who was engaged in this meaſure by the entreaties of SIGISMUND, and alſo from an expectation, that the decrees of this grand aſſembly would be favourable to his intereſts. He appeared in perſon, attended with a great number of cardinals and biſhops, at this famous council, which was alſo honoured with the preſence of the emperor SIGISMUND, and of a great number of German princes, and with that of the ambaſſadors of all the European ſtates, whoſe monarchs or regents could not be perſonally preſent at the deciſion of this important controverſy [*l*].

The deſign and iſſue of this grand council.

IV. The great purpoſe that was aimed at in the convocation of this grand aſſembly, was the healing of the ſchiſm that had ſo long rent the papacy; and this purpoſe was happily accompliſhed. It was ſolemnly declared, in the fourth and fifth ſeſſions of this council, by two decrees, that the Roman pontif was inferior and ſubject to a general aſſembly of the univerſal church; and the authority of councils was vindicated and maintained, by the ſame decrees, in the moſt

[*l*] The *Acts* of this famous council were publiſhed in ſix volumes in folio, at *Franckfort*, in the year 1700, by HERMAN van der HARDT. This collection, however, is imperfect, notwithſtanding the pains that it coſt the laborious editor. Many of the *Acts* are omitted, and a great number of pieces ſtuffed in among the *Acts*, which by no means deſerve a place there. The hiſtory of this council by LENFANT is compoſed with great accuracy and elegance. It appeared in a ſecond edition at *Amſterdam*, in the year 1728, in two volumes, quarto; the firſt was publiſhed in 1714. The Supplement, that was given to this hiſtory by BOURGEOIS DE CHASTENET, a French lawyer, is but an indifferent performance. It is entitled, *Nouvelle Hiſtoire du Concile de Conſtance, où l'on fait voir combien la France a contribué à l'extinction du Schiſme.*

effectual

effectual manner [*m*]. This vigorous proceeding prepared the way for the degradation of JOHN XXIII., who, during the twelfth ſeſſion, was unanimouſly depoſed from the pontificate [*n*], on account of ſeveral flagitious crimes that were laid to his charge, and more eſpecially on account of the ſcandalous violation of a ſolemn engagement he had taken about the beginning of the council, to reſign the papal chair, if that meaſure ſhould appear neceſſary to the peace of the church; which engagement he broke ſome weeks after by a clandeſtine flight. In this ſame year (1415), GREGORY XII. ſent to the council of CHARLES DE MALATESTA to make, in his name, and as his proxy, a ſolemn and voluntary reſignation of the pontificate. About two years after this, BENEDICT XIII. was depoſed by a ſolemn reſolution of the council [*o*], and OTTA DE COLONNA raiſed, by the unanimous ſuffrages of the cardinals, to the high dignity of head of the church, which he ruled under the title of MARTIN V. BENEDICT, who reſided ſtill at *Perpignan*, was far from being diſpoſed to ſubmit either to the decree of the council, which depoſed him, or to the determination of the cardinals with reſpect to his ſucceſſor. On the contrary, he perſiſted until the day of his death, which happened in the year 1423, in aſſuming the title, the prerogatives, and the authority of the papacy. And when this obſtinate man was dead, a certain Spaniard, named GILES MUNIOS, was choſen pope

[*m*] For an account of theſe two famous decrees, which ſet ſuch wiſe limits to the ſupremacy of the pontifs, ſee NATALIS ALEXAND. *Hiſt. Eccl. Sæc.* XV. *Diſſ.* iv.—BOSSUET, *Defenſ. Sententiæ Cleri Gallican. de Poteſt. Eccleſiaſt.* tom. ii. p. 2. 23.—LENFANT, *Diſſert. Hiſtorique et Apologetique pour Jean Gerſon, et le Concile de Conſtance*, which is ſubjoined to his hiſtory of that council.

[*n*] On the 29th of May, 1415.

[*o*] On the 26th of July, 1417.

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in his place by two cardinals, under the auſpicious patronage of ALPHONSUS, king of *Sicily*, and adopted the title of CLEMENT VIII.; but this ſorry pontif, in the year 1429, was perſuaded to reſign his pretenſions to the papacy, and to leave the government of the church to MARTIN V.

John Huſs.

V. If, from the meaſures that were taken in this council to check the lordly arrogance of the Roman pontifs, we turn our eyes to the proceedings that were carried on againſt thoſe that were called *heretics*, we ſhall obſerve in this new ſcene nothing worthy of applauſe, but ſeveral things, on the contrary, that are proper to excite our indignation, and which no pretext, no conſideration, can render excuſable. Before the meeting of this council, there were great commotions raiſed in ſeveral parts of *Europe*, and more eſpecially in *Bohemia*, concerning religious matters. One of the perſons that gave occaſion to theſe diſputes was JOHN HUSS, who lived at *Prague* in the higheſt reputation, both on account of the ſanctity of his manners and the purity of his doctrine, who was diſtinguiſhed by his uncommon erudition and eloquence, and performed, at the ſame time, the functions of profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity, and of ordinary paſtor in the church of that famous city [*p*]. This eminent eccleſiaſtic declaimed with vehemence againſt the vices that had corrupted all the different ranks and orders of the clergy; nor was he ſingular in this reſpect;

☞ [*p*] A Bohemian jeſuit, who was far from being favourable to JOHN HUSS, and who had the beſt opportunity of being acquainted with his real character, deſcribes him thus: *He was more ſubtile than eloquent; but the gravity and auſterity of his manners, his frugal and exemplary life, his pale and meagre countenance, his ſweetneſs of temper, and his uncommon affability towards perſons of all ranks and conditions, from the higheſt to the loweſt, were much more perſuaſive than any eloquence could be.* See BOHUS. BALBINUS, *Epitom. Rer. Bohem.* lib. iv. cap. v. p. 431.

ſuch

ſuch remonſtrances were become very common, and they were generally approved of by the wiſe and good. Huss, however, went ſtill farther; and, from the year 1408, uſed his moſt earneſt and aſſiduous endeavours to withdraw the univerſity of *Prague* from the juriſdiction of GREGORY XII., whom the kingdom of *Bohemia* had hitherto acknowledged as the true and lawful head of the church. The archbiſhop of *Prague*, and the clergy in general, who were warmly attached to the intereſts of GREGORY, were greatly exaſperated at theſe proceedings. Hence aroſe a violent quarrel between the incenſed prelate and the zealous reformer, which the latter inflamed and augmented, from day to day, by his pathetic exclamations againſt the court of *Rome*, and the corruptions that prevailed among the Sacerdotal order.

The reaſons that excited the reſentment of the clergy againſt John Huſs.

VI. Such were the circumſtances that firſt excited the reſentment of the clergy againſt JOHN HUSS. This reſentment, however, might have been eaſily calmed, and perhaps totally extinguiſhed, if new incidents of a more important kind had not ariſen to keep up the flame, and increaſe its fury. In the firſt place, he adopted the philoſophical opinions of the *Realiſts*, and ſhewed his warm attachment to their cauſe, in the manner that was uſual in this barbarous age, even by perſecuting to the utmoſt of his power their adverſaries the *Nominaliſts*, whoſe number was great, and whoſe influence was conſiderable in the univerſity of *Prague* [*q*]. He alſo multiplied

[*q*] See the *Literæ Nominalium ad Regem Franciæ Ludovicum* VI., in BALUZII *Miſcellan.* tom. iv. p. 534. where we read the following paſſage: *Legimus Nominales expulſos de Bohemia eo tempore, quo hæretici voluerunt Bohemicum Regnum ſuis hæreſibus inficere.—Quum dicti heretici non poſſent diſputando ſuperare, impetraverunt ab Abbiſſeſlao* (Wenceſlao) *Principe Bohemiæ, ut*

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plied the number of his enemies in the year 1408, by procuring, through his great credit, a ſentence in favour of the Bohemians, who diſputed with the Germans concerning the number of ſuffrages, that their reſpective nations were entitled to in all matters that were carried by election in the univerſity of *Prague*. That the nature of this conteſt may be better underſtood, it will be proper to obſerve, that this famous univerſity was divided, by its founder CHARLES IV., into four nations, to wit, the Bohemians, Bavarians, Poles, and Saxons, of which, according to the original laws of the univerſity, the firſt had *three ſuffrages*; and the other three, who were comprehended under the title of the *German nation*, only *one*. This arrangement, however, had not only been altered by cuſtom, but was entirely inverted in favour of the Germans, who were vaſtly ſuperior to the Bohemians in number, and aſſumed to themſelves the three ſuffrages, which, according to the original inſtitution of the univerſity, belonged, undoubtedly, to the latter. Huss, therefore, whether animated by a principle of patriotiſm, or by an averſion to the *Nominaliſts*, who were peculiarly favoured by the Germans, raiſed his voice againſt this abuſe, and employed, with ſucceſs, the extraordinary credit he had obtained at court, by his flowing and maſculine eloquence, in depriving the Germans of the privilege they had uſurped, and in reducing their three ſuffrages to one. The iſſue of this long and tedious conteſt [r] was ſo offenſive to the Germans, that a prodigious

gubernarentur ſtudia Pragenſia ritu Pariſienſium. Quo edicto coacti ſunt ſupradicti Nominales Pragam civitatem relinquere, et ſe tranſtulerunt ad Lipzicam civitatem, et ibidem erexerunt univerſitatem ſolemniſſimam.

☞ [r] WENCESLAUS, king of *Bohemia*, who was bribed by both of the contending parties, protracted inſtead of abridging this diſpute, and uſed to ſay with a ſmile, that he had found a good

prodigious number of them, with JOHN HOFFMAN the rector of the university at their head [*s*], retired from *Prague*, and repaired to *Leipsic*, where FREDERICK, surnamed the *Wise*, elector of *Saxony*, erected for them, in the year 1409, the famous academy which still subsists in a flourishing state. This event contributed greatly to render Huss odious to many, and, by the consequences that followed it, was certainly instrumental in bringing on his ruin. For no sooner had the Germans retired from *Prague*, than he began, not only to inveigh with greater freedom than he had formerly done against the vices and corruptions of the clergy, but even went so far as to recommend, in an open and public manner, the writings and opinions of the famous WICKLIFF, whose new doctrines had already made such a noise in *England*. Hence an accusation was brought against him, in the year 1410, before the tribunal of JOHN XXIII., by whom he was solemnly expelled from the communion of the church. He treated, indeed, this excommunication with the utmost contempt, and, both in his conversation, and in his writings, laid open the disorders that preyed upon the vitals of the church, and the vices that dishonoured the conduct of its ministers [*t*]; and the fortitude and zeal he discovered in this matter were almost universally applauded.

VII. This eminent man, whose piety was truly fervent and sincere, though his zeal perhaps was rather too violent, and his prudence not always

John Huss is burned alive.

good *goose*, which *laid every day a considerable number of gold and silver eggs*. This was playing upon the word *Huss*, which, in the German language, signifies a *goose*.

☞ [*s*] Historians differ much in their accounts of the number of Germans that retired from the university of *Prague* upon this occasion. *Æneas Sylvius* reckons 5000, *Trithemius* and others 2000, *Dubravius* 24,000, *Lupatius* 44,000, *Lauda*, a contemporary writer, 36,000.

[*t*] See LAUR. BYZINII *Diarium Belli Hussitici*, in LUDWIG's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, tom. vi. p. 127.

equally

equally circumſpect, was ſummoned to appear before the council of *Conſtance*. Obedient to this order, and thinking himſelf ſecured from the rage of his enemies, by the ſafe-conduct which had been granted him by the emperor SIGISMUND, both for his journey to *Conſtance*, his reſidence in that place, and his return to his own country, JOHN HUSS appeared before the council, to demonſtrate his innocence, and to prove that the charge of his having deſerted the church of *Rome* was entirely groundleſs. And it may be affirmed with truth, that his religious opinions, at leaſt in matters of moment and importance, were conformable to the eſtabliſhed doctrine of the church in this age [*u*]. He declaimed, indeed, with extraordinary vehemence againſt the Roman pontifs, the biſhops and monks; but this freedom was looked upon as lawful in theſe times, and it was uſed every day in the council of *Conſtance*, where the tyranny of the court of *Rome*, and the corruption of the ſacerdotal and monaſtic orders, were cenſured with the utmoſt ſeverity. The enemies, however, of this good man, who were very numerous both in the kingdom of *Bohemia*, and alſo in the council of *Conſtance*, coloured the accuſation that was brought againſt him with ſuch artifice and ſucceſs, that, by the moſt ſcandalous breach of public faith, he was caſt into priſon, declared a heretic, becauſe he refuſed to obey the order of the council, which commanded him to plead guilty againſt the dictates of his

☞ [*u*] It was obſerved in the preceding ſection, that JOHN HUSS adopted with zeal, and recommended in an open and public manner the writings and opinions of WICKLIFF; but this muſt be underſtood of the writings and opinions of that great man in relation to the papal hierarchy, the deſpotiſm of the court of *Rome*, and the corruption of the clergy; for, in other reſpects, it is certain that he adhered to the moſt ſuperſtitious doctrines of the church, as appears by two ſermons he had prepared for the council of *Conſtance*.

conſcience,

conſcience, and was burnt alive the 6th of July 1415; which dreadful puniſhment he endured with unparalleled magnanimity and reſignation, expreſſing in his laſt moments the nobleſt feelings of love to God, and the moſt triumphant hope of the accompliſhment of thoſe tranſporting promiſes with which the goſpel arms the true Chriſtian at the approach of eternity. The ſame unhappy fate was borne with the ſame pious fortitude and conſtancy of mind by JEROME of *Prague*, the intimate companion of JOHN HUSS, who came to this council with the generous deſign of ſupporting and ſeconding his perſecuted friend. Terrified by the proſpect of a cruel death, JEROME at firſt appeared willing to ſubmit to the orders of the council, and to abandon the tenets and opinions which it had condemned in his writings. This ſubmiſſion, however, was not attended with the advantages he expected from it, nor did it deliver him from the cloſe and ſevere confinement in which he was kept. He therefore reſumed his fortitude, profeſſed anew, with an heroic conſtancy, the opinions which he had deſerted for a while from a principle of fear, and maintained them in the flames, in which he expired on the 30th of May 1416 [*w*].

The true cauſes of theſe violent proceedings againſt John Huſs and Jerome of *Prague*.

Many learned men have endeavoured to inveſtigate the reaſons that occaſioned the pronouncing ſuch a cruel ſentence againſt HUSS and his aſſociate; and as no adequate reaſons for ſuch a ſevere proceeding can be found, either in the life or opinions of that good man, they conclude, that he fell a victim to the rage and injuſtice of his unrelenting enemies. And indeed this con-

☞ [*w*] The tranſlator has here inſerted into the text the large note [*a*] of the original, which relates to the circumſtances that precipitated the ruin of theſe two eminent reformers; and he has thrown the citations therein contained into ſeveral notes.

cluſion

cluſion is both natural and well-grounded; nor will it be difficult to ſhew how it came to paſs, that the reverend fathers of the council of *Conſtance* were ſo eagerly bent upon burning, as a heretic, a man who neither deſerved ſuch an injurious title, nor ſuch a dreadful fate. In the *firſt place*, JOHN HUSS had excited, both by his diſcourſe and by his writings, great commotions in *Bohemia*, and had rendered the clergy of all ranks and orders extremely odious in the eyes of the people. The biſhops, therefore, together with the ſacerdotal and monaſtic orders, were very ſenſible, that their honours and advantages, their credit and authority, were in the greateſt danger of being reduced to nothing, if this reformer ſhould return again to his country, and continue to write and declaim againſt the clergy with the ſame freedom that he had formerly done. Hence they left no means unemployed to accompliſh his ruin; they laboured night and day, they formed plots, they bribed men in power, they uſed, in ſhort, every method that could have any tendency to rid them of ſuch a formidable adverſary [*x*]. It may be obſerved, *ſecondly*, that, in the council of *Conſtance*, there were many men of great influence and weight, who looked upon themſelves as perſonally offended by JOHN HUSS,

[*x*] The bribery and corruption that was employed in bringing about the ruin of JOHN HUSS, are manifeſt from the following remarkable paſſages of the *Diarium Huſſiticum* of LAUR. BYZINIUS, p. 135. (ſee LUDEWIGI *Reliquiæ*, tom. vi.) *Clerus perverſus præcipue in regno Bohemiæ et Marchionatu Moraviæ, condemnationem ipſius* (Huſſi) CONTRIBUTIONE PECUNIARUM, *et modis aliis diverſis procuravit et ad ipſius conſenſit interitum.* And again, p. 150. *Clerus perverſus regni Bohemiæ et Marchionatus Moraviæ, et præcipue Epiſcopi, Abbates, Canonici, plebani, et religioſi ipſius fideles ac ſalutiferas admonitiones, adhortationes, ipſorum pompam, ſymoniam, avaritiam, fornicationem, vitaque deteſtandæ abominationem detegentes, ferre non valendo,* PECUNIARUM CONTRIBUTIONE *ad ipſius extinctionem faciendo procurarunt.*

and

and who demanded his life as the only ſacrifice that could ſatisfy their vengeance. HUSS, as has been already mentioned, was not only attached to the party of the *Realiſts*, but was peculiarly ſevere in his oppoſition to their adverſaries. And now he was ſo unhappy, as to be brought before a tribunal which was principally compoſed of the *Nominaliſts*, with the famous JOHN GERSON at their head, who was the zealous patron of that faction, and the mortal enemy of HUSS. Nothing could equal the vindictive pleaſure the *Nominaliſts* felt from an event that put this unfortunate priſoner in their power, and gave them an opportunity of ſatisfying their vengeance to the full; and accordingly, in their *Letter* to LEWIS, king of *France* [y], they do not pretend to deny that HUSS fell a victim to the reſentment of their ſect, which is alſo confirmed by the hiſtory of the council of *Conſtance*. The animoſities that always reigned among the *Realiſts* and *Nominaliſts* were at this time carried to the greateſt exceſs imaginable. Upon every occaſion that offered, they accuſed each other of hereſy and impiety, and had conſtantly recourſe to corporal puniſhments to decide the matter. The *Nominaliſts* procured the death of HUSS, who was a *Realiſt*: and the *Realiſts*, on the other hand, obtained, in the year 1479, the condemnation of JOHN DE WESALIA, who was attached to the party of the *Nominaliſts* [z]. Theſe contending ſects carried their

[y] See BALUZII *Miſcell.* tom. iv. p. 534. in which we find the following paſſage: *Suſcitavit Deus Doctores catholicos, Petrum de Allyaco, Johannem de Gerſono, et alios quam plures doctiſſimos homines Nominales, qui convocati ad Concilium Conſtantienſe, ad quod citati fuerunt hæretici, et nominatim Hieronymus et Johannes—dictos hæreticos per quadraginta dies diſputando ſuperaverant.*

[z] See the *Examen Magiſtrale et Theologicale Mag. Joh. de Weſalia, in* ORTUINI GRATII *Faſciculo rerum expetend. et fugiendar. Colon.* 1535, *Fol.* 163.

 blind

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blind fury ſo far as to charge each other with the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt [*a*], and exhibited the moſt miſerable ſpectacle of inhuman bigotry to the Chriſtian world. The averſion which JOHN HUSS and JEROME, his companion, had againſt the Germans was a *third* circumſtance that contributed to determine their unhappy fate. This averſion they declared publicly at *Prague*, upon all occaſions, both by their words and actions; nor were they at any pains to conceal it even in the council of *Conſtance*, where they accuſed them of preſumption and deſpotiſm in the ſtrongeſt terms [*b*]. The Germans, on the other hand, remembering the affront they had received in the univerſity of *Prague* by the means of JOHN HUSS, burned with reſentment and rage both againſt him and his unfortunate friend; and as their influence and authority were very great in the council, there is no doubt that they employed them, with the utmoſt zeal, againſt theſe two formidable adverſaries. Beſides, John HOFF-

[*a*] In the *Examen* mentioned in the preceding note, we find the following ſtriking paſſage, which may ſhew us the extravagant length to which the diſputes between the *Nominaliſts* and *Realiſts* were now carried: *Quis niſi ipſe Diabolus ſeminavit illam zizaniam inter Philoſophos et inter Theologos, ut tanta ſit diſſenſio*, etiam animorum *inter diverſa opinantes? Adeo ut ſi univerſalia quiſquam Realia negaverit, exiſtimetur* IN SPIRITUM SANCTUM PECCAVISSE, *immo ſummo et maximo peccato plenus creditur contra Deum, contra Chriſtianam religionem, contra juſtitiam, contra omnem politiam graviter deliquiſſe. Unde hæc cæcitas mentis niſi a Diabolo, qui phantaſias noſtras illudit?* We ſee by this paſſage that the *Realiſts* charged their adverſaries (whoſe only crime was the abſurdity of calling *univerſal ideas* mere *denominations*) with ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, with tranſgreſſion againſt God, and againſt the Chriſtian religion, and with a violation of all the laws of juſtice and civil polity.

[*b*] See THEOD. DE NIEM, *Invectiva in Joh.* XXIII., in HARDTII *Actis Concilii Conſtant.* tom. ii. p. 450. *Improperabat etiam in publico Alamannis, dicendo, quod eſſent præſumptuoſi et vellent ubique per orbem dominari . . . Sicque factum fuiſſet ſæpe in Bohemia*, ubi volentes etiam dominari Alamanni VIOLENTER *exinde* REPULSI *et* MALE TRACTATI *fuiſſent.*

MAN,

MAN, the famous rector of the univerſity of *Prague*, whom Huss had been the occaſion of expelling from that city together with the Germans, and who was in conſequence thereof become his moſt virulent enemy, was conſecrated biſhop of *Miſnia* in the year 1413, and held in this council the moſt illuſtrious rank among the delegates of the German church. This circumſtance was alſo moſt unfavourable to Huss, and was, no doubt, in the event detrimental to his cauſe.

The circumſtances now mentioned, as contributing to the unhappy fate of this good man, are, as we ſee, all drawn from the reſentment and prejudices of his enemies, and have not the leaſt colour of equity. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that there appeared one *mark of hereſy* in the conduct of this reformer, which, according to the notions that prevailed in this century, might expoſe him to condemnation with ſome ſhadow of reaſon and juſtice; I mean, his inflexible obſtinacy, which the church of *Rome* always conſidered as a grievous *hereſy*, even in thoſe whoſe errors were of little moment. We muſt conſider this man, as called before a council, which was ſuppoſed to repreſent the univerſal church, to confeſs his faults and to abjure his errors. This he obſtinately refuſed to do, unleſs he was previouſly convicted of error; here, therefore, he reſiſted the authority of the *catholic church*, demanded a rational proof of the juſtice of the ſentence it had pronounced againſt him, and intimated, with ſufficient plainneſs, that he looked upon the church as *fallible*. All this certainly was moſt enormouſly criminal and intolerably heretical, according to the general opinion of the times. For it became a *dutiful* ſon of the church to renounce his eye-ſight, and to ſubmit both his judgment and his will, without any exception or reſervation, to the judgment and will

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of that holy mother, under a firm belief and entire perſuaſion of the infallibility of all her deciſions. This ghoſtly mother had, for many ages paſt, followed, whenever her unerring perfection and authority were called in queſtion, the rule which PLINY obſerved in his conduct towards the Chriſtians. "When they perſevered, *ſays* "*he in his letter to* TRAJAN [*c*], I put my threats "into execution, from a perſuaſion that what"ever their confeſſion might be, their audacious "and invincible obſtinacy deſerved an exemplary "puniſhment."

The council iſſue out a decree againſt the writings and aſhes of Wickliff.

VIII. Before ſentence had been pronounced againſt JOHN HUSS and JEROME of *Prague*, the famous WICKLIFF, whoſe opinions they were ſuppoſed to adopt, and who was long ſince dead, was called from his reſt before this ghoſtly tribunal, and his memory was ſolemnly branded with infamy by a decree of the council. On the 4th day of May, in the year 1415, a long liſt of propoſitions, invidiouſly culled out of his writings, was examined and condemned, and an order was iſſued out to commit all his works, together with his bones, to the flames. On the 14th of June following, the aſſembled fathers paſſed the famous decree, which took the *cup* from the laity in the celebration of the euchariſt, ordered *that the Lord's ſupper ſhould be received by them only in one kind*, i. e. *the bread*, and rigorouſly prohibited the *communion in both kinds*. This decree was occaſioned by complaints that had been made of the conduct of JACOBELLIUS DE MISA, curate of the pariſh of *St. Michael* at *Prague*, who, about a year before this, had been perſuaded by PETER of *Dreſden*, to adminiſter the Lord's ſupper in *both kinds*, and was followed in this by ſeveral

[*c*] PLIN. *Epiſt.* lib. x. ep. 97. *Perſeverantes duci juſſi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualecumque eſſet, quod fraterentur, pervicaciam certe et inflexibilem obſtinationem debere puniri.*

churches.

churches [*d*]. The council, being informed of this matter by a certain Bohemian biſhop, thought proper to oppoſe with vigour the progreſs of this *hereſy*; and therefore they enacted the ſtatute, which ordered the *communion to be adminiſtered to the laity but in one kind*, and which obtained the force and authority of a law in the church of *Rome*. CENT. XV. PART II.

IX. In the ſame year, the opinion of JOHN PETIT, a doctor of divinity at *Paris* [*e*], who maintained, that every individual had an undoubted right to take away the life of a tyrant, was brought before the council, and was condemned as an odious and deteſtable hereſy; but both the name and perſon of the author were ſpared, on account of the powerful patrons, under whoſe protection he had defended that pernicious doctrine. JOHN, duke of *Burgundy*, had, in the year 1407, employed a band of ruffians to aſſaſſinate LEWIS, duke of *Orleans*, only brother of CHARLES VI., king of *France*. While the whole city of *Paris* was in an uproar in conſequence of this horrible deed, PETIT juſtified it in a public oration, in preſence of the Dauphin and the princes of the blood, affirming, that the duke had done a laudable action, and that it was lawful to put a tyrant to death, *in any way, either by violence or fraud, and without any form of law or juſtice; nay, even in oppoſition to the moſt ſolemn contracts and oaths of fidelity and allegiance.* It is however to be obſerved, that by *tyrants* this doctor did not mean the ſupreme rulers of nations, but thoſe more powerful and inſolent ſubjects, who abuſed their wealth and credit to bring about meaſures that tended to the diſhonour of their ſovereign

The ſentence of the council againſt John Petit.

[*d*] BYZINI *Diarium Huſſiticum*, p. 124.

☞ [*e*] Some hiſtorians have erroneouſly repreſented PETIT as a lawyer. See Dr. SMOLLET's *Hiſtory of England*, vol. ii. p. 462. in 4to.

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and the ruin of their country [*f*]. The univerſity of *Paris* pronounced a ſevere and rigorous ſentence againſt the author of this pernicious opinion; and the council of *Conſtance*, after much deliberation and debate, condemned the opinion without mentioning the author. This determination of the council, though modified with the utmoſt clemency and mildneſs, was not ratified by the new pontif MARTIN V., who dreaded too much the formidable power of the duke of *Burgundy*, to confirm a ſentence which he knew would be diſpleaſing to that ambitious prince [*g*].

The hopes of a reformation in the church fruſtrated.

X. After theſe and other tranſactions of a like nature, it was now time to take into conſideration a point of more importance than had yet been propoſed, even the reformation of the church in its *head* and in its *members*, by ſetting bounds to the deſpotiſm and corruption of the Roman pontifs, and to the luxury and immorality of a licentious clergy. It was particularly with a view to this important object, that the eyes of all *Europe* were fixed upon the council of *Conſtance*, from an univerſal perſuaſion of the neceſſity of this reformation, and an ardent deſire of ſeeing it happily brought into execution. Nor did the aſſembled fathers deny, that this reformation was the principal end of their meeting. Yet this ſalutary work had ſo many obſtacles in the paſſions and intereſts of thoſe very perſons by whom it was to

[*f*] This appears manifeſtly from the very diſcourſe of PETIT, which the reader may ſee in LENFANT'S *Hiſtory of the Council of Piſa*, tom. ii. p. 303 *. See alſo AUGUST. LEYSERI *Diſſ. quâ memoriam Joh. Burgundi et doctrinam Joh. Parvi de cæde per duillium vindicat.* Witteberg. 1735, in 4to.

[*g*] BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. v. p. 113. et paſſim.—ARGENTRE, *Collectio Judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. part II. p. 184.—GERSONIS *Opera à Du Pinio edita*, tom. v.—BAYLE, *Diction.* tom. iii. p. 2268.

☞ * See alſo the ſame author's *Hiſtory of the Council of Conſtance* book iii. § xix.

be

be effected, that little could be expected, and ſtill leſs was done. The cardinals and dignified clergy, whoſe intereſt it was that the church ſhould remain in its corrupt and diſordered ſtate, employed all their eloquence and art to prevent its reformation; and obſerved, among other artful pretexts, that a work of ſuch high moment and importance could not be undertaken with any proſpect of ſucceſs, until a new pontif was elected. And, what was ſtill more ſhocking, the new pontif MARTIN V. was no ſooner raiſed to that high dignity, than he employed his authority to elude and fruſtrate every effort that was made to ſet this ſalutary work on foot; and made it appear moſt evidently, by the laws he enacted, that nothing was more foreign from his intention than the reformation of the clergy, and the reſtoration of the church to its primitive purity. Thus this famous council, after ſitting three years and ſix months, was diſſolved on the 22d day of April, 1418, without having effected what was the chief deſign of their aſſembling, and put off to a future aſſembly of the ſame kind, which was to be ſummoned five years after this period, that pious deſign of purifying a corrupt church, which had been ſo long the object of the expectations and deſires of all good Chriſtians.

A council aſſembled at Baſil, where the reformation of the church is again attempted in vain.

XI. Five years and more elapſed without a council's being called. The remonſtrances, however, of thoſe whoſe zeal for the reformation of the church intereſted them in this event, prevailed, at length, over the pretexts and ſtratagems that were employed to put it off from time to time; and MARTIN V. ſummoned a council to meet at *Pavia*, from whence it was removed to *Sienna*, and from thence to *Baſil*. The pontif did not live to be a witneſs of the proceedings of this aſſembly, being carried off by a ſudden death on the 21ſt day of February, in the year 1431,

juſt about the time when the council was to meet. He was immediately ſucceeded by GABRIEL CONDOLMERUS, a native of *Venice*, and biſhop of *Sienna*, who is known in the papal liſt by the title of EUGENIUS IV. This pontif approved of all the meaſures that had been entered into by his predeceſſor in relation to the aſſembling of the council of *Baſil*, which was accordingly opened the 23d of July, 1431, under the ſuperintendence of cardinal JULIAN CESARINI, who performed the functions of preſident, in the place of EUGENIUS.

The two grand points that were propoſed to the deliberation of this famous council, were, the *union of the Greek and Latin churches*, and the *reformation of the church univerſal both in its head and in its members*, according to the reſolution that had been taken in the council of *Conſtance*. For that the Roman pontifs, who were conſidered as the head of the church, and the biſhops, prieſts, and monks, who were looked upon as its members, were become exceſſively corrupt; and that, to uſe the expreſſion of the prophet in a ſimilar caſe, the *whole head was ſick, and the whole heart faint*, was a matter of fact too ſtriking to eſcape the knowledge of the obſcureſt individual. On the other hand, as it appeared by the very form of the council [*b*], by its method of proceeding, and by the firſt decrees that were enacted by its authority, that the aſſembled fathers were in earneſt, and firmly reſolved to anſwer the end and

☞ [*b*] By the form of the council, Dr. MOSHEIM undoubtedly means the diviſion of the cardinals, archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, *&c.* into four equal claſſes, without any regard to the nation or province by which they were ſent. This prudent arrangement prevented the cabals and intrigues of the Italians, whoſe biſhops were much more numerous than thoſe of other nations, and who, by their number, might have had it in their power to retard or defeat the laudable purpoſe the council had in view, had things been otherwiſe ordered.

purpoſe

purpoſe of their meeting. EUGENIUS IV. was much alarmed at the proſpect of a reformation, which he feared above all things, and beholding with terror the zeal and deſigns of theſe ſpiritual phyſicians, he attempted twice the diſſolving of the council. Theſe repeated attempts were vigorouſly and ſucceſsfully oppoſed by the aſſembled fathers, who proved by the decrees of the council of *Conſtance*, and by other arguments equally concluſive, that the council was ſuperior, in point of authority, to the Roman pontif. This controverſy, which was the firſt that had ariſen between the council and the pope, was terminated, in the month of November 1433, by the ſilence and conceſſions of the latter, who, the month following, wrote a letter from *Rome*, containing his approbation of the council, and his acknowledgment of its authority [*i*].

[*i*] The hiſtory of this grand and memorable council is yet wanting. The learned STEPHEN BALUZIUS (as we find in the *Hiſtoire de l'Academie des Inſcriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. vi. p. 544.), and after him Mr. LENFANT, promiſed the world a hiſtory of this council; but neither of theſe valuable writers performed their promiſe *. The acts of this famous aſſembly have been collected with incredible induſtry, in a great number of volumes, from various archives and libraries, at the expence of RODOLPHUS AUGUSTUS, duke of *Brunſwick*, by the very learned and laborious HERMAN van der HARDT. They are preſerved, as we are informed, in the library at *Hanover*, and they certainly deſerve to be drawn from their retreat, and publiſhed to the world. In the mean time, the curious may conſult the Abridgment of the Acts of this council, which were publiſhed in 8vo at *Paris*, in the year 1512, and which I have made uſe of in this Hiſtory, as alſo the following authors: *ÆNEÆ SYLVII Lib. duo de Concilio Baſilienſi.*—EDMUN. RICHERIUS, *Hiſtor. Concilior. General.* lib. iii. cap. 1.—HENR. CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 447.

☞ * Dr. MOSHEIM has here been guilty of an overſight; for LENFANT did in reality perform his promiſe, and compoſed the *Hiſtory of the Council of Baſil*, which he blended with his *Hiſtory of the War of the Huſſites*, on account of the connexion that there was between theſe two ſubjects; and alſo becauſe his advanced age prevented his indulging himſelf in the hope of being able to give a full and complete Hiſtory of the council of *Baſil* apart.

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The decrees and acts of the council of *Baſil.*

XII. Theſe preliminary meaſures being finiſhed, the council proceeded with zeal and activity to the accompliſhment of the important purpoſes for which it was aſſembled. The pope's legates were admitted as members of the council, but not before they had declared, upon oath, that they would ſubmit to the decrees that ſhould be enacted in it, and more particularly that they would adhere to the laws that had been made in the council of *Conſtance*, in relation to the ſupremacy of general councils, and the ſubordination of the pontifs to their authority and juriſdiction. Nay, theſe very laws, which the popes beheld with ſuch averſion and horror, were ſolemnly renewed by the council the 26th of June, in the year 1434, and, on the 9th of the ſame month in the following year, the *Annats*, as they were called, were publicly aboliſhed, notwithſtanding the oppoſition that was made to this meaſure by the legates of the Roman ſee. On the 25th of March 1436, a confeſſion of faith was read, which every pontif was to ſubſcribe on the day of his election, the number of cardinals was reduced to twenty-four, and the papal impoſitions, called *Expectatives*, *Reſervations*, and *Proviſions*, were entirely annulled. Theſe meaſure, with others of a like nature, provoked EUGENIUS to the higheſt degree, and made him form a deſign, either for removing this troubleſome and enterprizing council into *Italy*, or of ſetting up a new council in oppoſition to it, which might fix bounds to its zeal for the reformation of the church. Accordingly, on the 7th of May, in the year 1437, the aſſembled fathers having, on account of the Greeks, come to a reſolution of holding the council at *Baſil*, *Avignon*, or ſome city in the duchy of *Savoy*, the intractable pontif oppoſed this motion, and maintained that it ſhould be transferred into *Italy*. Each of the contending parties perſevered, with the

the utmoſt obſtinacy, in the reſolution they had taken, and this occaſioned a warm and violent conteſt between the pope and the council. The latter ſummoned EUGENIUS to appear before them at *Baſil* the 26th day of July 1437, in order to give an account of his conduct; but the pontif, inſtead of complying with this ſummons, iſſued out a decree, by which he pretended to diſſolve the council, and to aſſemble another at *Ferrara*. This decree, indeed, was treated with the utmoſt contempt by the council, which, with the conſent of the emperor, the king of *France*, and ſeveral other princes, continued its deliberations at *Baſil*, and, on the 28th of September, in this ſame year, pronounced a ſentence of contumacy againſt the rebellious pontif, for having refuſed to obey their order.

The council of *Ferrara* held by Eugenius.

XIII. In the year 1438, EUGENIUS in perſon opened the council, which he had ſummoned to meet at *Ferrara*, and at the ſecond ſeſſion thundered out an excommunication againſt the fathers aſſembled at *Baſil*. The principal buſineſs that was now to be tranſacted in the pontif's council, was the propoſed reconciliation between the Greek and Latin churches; and, in order to bring this ſalutary and important deſign to a happy iſſue, the emperor JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, the Grecian patriarch JOSEPHUS, with the moſt eminent biſhops and doctors among the Greeks, arrived in *Italy*, and appeared in perſon at *Ferrara*. What animated, in a particular manner, the zeal of the Greeks in this negotiation, was the extremity to which they were reduced by the Turks, and the pleaſing hope, that their reconciliation with the Roman pontif would contribute to engage the Latins in their cauſe. Be that as it may, there was little done at *Ferrara*, where matters were carried on too ſlowly to afford any proſpect of an end of their diſſentions; but the

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negotiations were more ſucceſsful at *Florence*, whither EUGENIUS removed the council about the beginning of the year 1439, on account of the plague that broke out at *Ferrara*. On the other hand, the council of *Baſil*, exaſperated by the imperious proceedings of EUGENIUS, depoſed him from the papacy on the 25th of June, in the year 1439; which vigorous meaſure was not approved of by the European kings and princes. It may be eaſily conceived what an impreſſion this ſtep made upon the affronted pontif; he loſt all patience; and devoted, for the ſecond time, to hell and damnation the members of the council of *Baſil* by a ſolemn and moſt ſevere edict, in which alſo he declared all their acts null, and all their proceedings unlawful. This new peal of papal thunder was held in deriſion by the council of *Baſil*, who, perſiſting in their purpoſe, elected another pontif, and raiſed to that high dignity AMADEUS, duke of *Savoy*, who then lived in the moſt profound ſolitude at a delicious retreat, called *Ripaille*, upon the borders of the *Leman Lake*, and who is known in the papal liſt by the name of FELIX V.

The church afflicted with a ſchiſm.

XIV. This election was the occaſion of the revival of that deplorable ſchiſm, which had formerly rent the church, and which had been terminated with ſo much difficulty, and after ſo many vain and fruitleſs efforts, at the council of *Conſtance*. Nay, the new breach was ſtill more lamentable than the former one, as the flame was kindled not only between two rival pontifs, but alſo between the two contending councils of *Baſil* and *Florence*. The greateſt part of the church ſubmitted to the juriſdiction, and adopted the cauſe of EUGENIUS; while FELIX was acknowledged, as lawful pontif, by a great number of academies, and, among others, by the famous univerſity of *Paris*, as alſo in ſeveral kingdoms and

and provinces. The council of *Baſil* continued its deliberations, and went on enacting laws, and publiſhing edicts, until the year 1443, notwithſtanding the efforts of EUGENIUS and his adherents to put a ſtop to their proceedings. And, though in that year the members of the council retired to their reſpective places of abode, yet they declared publicly that the council was not diſſolved, but would reſume its deliberations at *Baſil*, *Lyons*, or *Lauſanne*, as ſoon as a proper opportunity was offered.

In the mean time, the council of *Florence*, with EUGENIUS at its head, was chiefly employed in reconciling the differences between the Greeks and Latins; which weighty buſineſs was committed to the prudence, zeal, and piety, of a ſelect number of eminent men on both ſides. The moſt diſtinguiſhed among thoſe whom the Greeks choſe for this purpoſe was the learned BESSARION, who was afterwards raiſed to the dignity of cardinal in the Roman church. This great man, engaged and ſeduced by the ſplendid preſents and promiſes of the Latin pontif, employed the whole extent of his authority, and the power of his eloquence, nay, he had recourſe even to promiſes and threatenings, to perſuade the Greeks to accept the conditions of peace that were propoſed by EUGENIUS. Theſe conditions required their conſent to the following points:—*That the holy Spirit proceeded from the Son, as well as from the Father; that departed ſouls were purified in the infernal regions, by a certain kind of fire, before their admiſſion to the preſence and viſion of the Deity;—that unleavened bread might be uſed in the adminiſtration of the Lord's ſupper*;—and laſtly, which was the main and principal thing inſiſted upon by the Latins, *that the Roman pontif was the ſupreme judge, the true head of the univerſal church.* Such were the terms of peace to which the Greeks were obliged

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obliged to ſubmit, all except MARK of *Epheſus*, whom neither entreaties nor rewards could move from his purpoſe, or engage to ſubmit to a reconciliation founded upon ſuch conditions. And indeed this reconciliation, which had been brought about by various ſtratagems, was much more ſpecious than ſolid, and had by no means ſtability ſufficient to aſſure its duration. We find accordingly, that the Grecian deputies were no ſooner returned to *Conſtantinople*, than they declared publicly, that all things had been carried on at *Florence* by artifice and fraud, and renewed the ſchiſm, which had been ſo imperfectly healed a little time before. The council of *Florence* put an end to its deliberations on the 26th of April, in the year 1442 [*k*], without having executed any of the deſigns that were propoſed by it, in a ſatisfactory manner. For, beſides the affair of the Greeks, they propoſed bringing the Armenians, Jacobites, and more particularly the Abyſſinians, into the boſom of the Roman church; but this project was attended with as little ſucceſs as the other.

Which is healed under the pontificate of Nicholas V.

XV. EUGENIUS IV., who had been the occaſion of the new ſchiſm in the ſee of *Rome*, died in the month of February 1447, and was ſucceeded, in a few weeks, by THOMAS DE SARZANO, biſhop

[*k*] The *Hiſtory* of this council, and of the frauds and ſtratagems that were practiſed in it, was compoſed by that learned Grecian SYLVESTER SGYROPULUS, whoſe work was publiſhed at the *Hague* in the year 1660, with a Latin tranſlation, a preliminary diſcourſe, and ample notes, by the learned ROBERT CREIGHTON, a native of *Great Britain*. This Hiſtory was refuted by LEO ALLATIUS, in a work entitled, *Exercitationes in Creightoni Apparatum, Verſionem et Notas ad Hiſtoriam Concilii Florentini ſcriptam a Sguropolo*, Romæ, 1674, 4to. See the ſame author's *Perpetua Conſenſio Eccleſiæ Orientalis et Occident.* p. 875. as alſo MABILLON, *Muſeum Italicum*, tom. i. p. 243.—SPANHEMIUS, *De perpetua diſſenſione Eccleſ. Orient. et Occident.* tom. ii. opp. p. 491.—HERMANN. *Hiſtoria concertat. de pane azymo*, part II. cap. v. p. 124.

of *Bologna*, who filled the pontificate under the denomination of NICHOLAS V. This eminent prelate had, in point of merit, the beſt pretenſions poſſible to the papal throne. He was diſtinguiſhed by his erudition and genius; he was a zealous patron and protector of learned men; and, what was ſtill more laudable, he was remarkable for his moderation, and for the meek and pacific ſpirit that diſcovered itſelf in all his conduct and actions. Under this pontificate the European princes, and more eſpecially the king of *France*, exerted their warmeſt endeavours to reſtore tranquillity and union in the Latin church, and their efforts were crowned with the deſired ſucceſs. For, in the year 1449, FELIX V. reſigned the papal chair, and returned to his delicious hermitage at *Ripaille*, while the fathers of the council of *Baſil* aſſembled at *Lauſanne* [*l*], ratified his voluntary abdication, and, by a ſolemn decree, ordered the univerſal church to ſubmit to the juriſdiction of NICHOLAS as their lawful pontif. On the other hand, NICHOLAS proclaimed this treaty of peace with great pomp on the 18th of June, in the ſame year, and ſet the ſeal of his approbation and authority to the acts and decrees of the council of *Baſil*. This pontif diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very extraordinary manner, by his love of learning, and by his ardent zeal for the propagation of the liberal arts and ſciences, which he promoted in *Italy*, with great ſucceſs, by the encouragement he granted to the learned Greeks, who came from *Conſtantinople* into that country [*m*]. The principal occaſion of his death

[*l*] The abdication of FELIX V. was made on the 9th of April 1449, and it was ratified the 16th day of the month, by the aſſembled fathers at *Lauſanne*.

[*m*] See DOM. GEORGII *vita Nicolai* V., *ad fidem veterum Monumentorum*: to which is added, a treatiſe, entitled, *Diſquiſitio de Nicolai* V. *erga litteras et literatos viros patrocinio*, publiſhed in 4to at *Rome*, in the year 1742.

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was the fatal revolution that threw this capital of the Grecian empire into the hands of the Turks; this melancholy event preyed upon his ſpirits, and at length ended his days on the 24th of March, in the year 1455.

XVI. His ſucceſſor ALPHONSUS BORGIA, who was a native of *Spain*, and is known in the papal liſt by the denomination of CALIXTUS III., was remarkable for nothing but his zeal in animating the Chriſtian princes to make war upon the Turks; his reign alſo was ſhort, for he died in the year 1458. ÆNEAS SYLVIUS PICCOLOMINI, who ſucceeded him in the pontificate that ſame year, under the title of PIUS II., rendered his name much more illuſtrious, not only by his extenſive genius, and the important tranſactions that were carried on during his adminiſtration, but alſo by the various and uſeful productions with which he enriched the republic of letters. The luſtre of his fame was, indeed, tarniſhed by a ſcandalous proof which he gave of his fickleneſs and inconſtancy, or rather perhaps of his bad faith; for after having vigorouſly defended, againſt the pontifs, the dignity and prerogatives of general councils, and maintained with peculiar boldneſs and obſtinacy the cauſe of the council of *Baſil* againſt EUGENIUS IV., he ignominiouſly renounced theſe generous principles upon his acceſſion to the pontificate, and acted in direct oppoſition to them during the whole courſe of his adminiſtration. Thus, in the year 1460, he denied publicly that the pope was ſubordinate to a general council, and even prohibited all appeals to ſuch a council under the ſevereſt penalties. The year following, he obtained from LEWIS XI., king of *France*, the abrogation of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which favoured, in a particular manner, the pretenſions of the general councils to ſupremacy

Pius II.

macy in the church [*n*]. But the most egregious instance of impudence and perfidy that he exhibited

☞ [*n*] There was a famous edict, entitled, *The Pragmatic Sanction*, issued out by LEWIS IX., who, though he is honoured with a place in the Kalendar, was yet a zealous assertor of the liberty and privileges of the Gallican church, against the despotic encroachments and pretensions, of the Roman pontifs. It was against their tyrannical proceedings, and intolerable extortions, that this edict was chiefly levelled; and though some creatures of the court of *Rome* have thrown out insinuations of its being a spurious production, yet the contrary is evident from its having been registered, as the authentic edict of that pious monarch, by the parliament of *Paris*, in the year 1461, by the states of the kingdom assembled at *Tours* in the year 1483, and by the university of *Paris* 1491.—See, for a farther account of this edict, the excellent *History of France* (begun by the Abbé VELLY, and continued by M. VILLARET,) vol. vi. p. 57.

The edict which Dr. MOSHEIM has in view here, is the *Pragmatic Sanction* that was drawn up at *Bourges*, in the year 1438, by CHARLES VII. king of *France*, with the consent of the most eminent prelates and grandees of the nation, who were assembled at that place. This edict (which was absolutely necessary in order to deliver the French clergy from the vexations they suffered from the encroachments of the popes, ever since the latter had fixed their residence at *Avignon*) consisted of twenty-three articles, in which, among other salutary regulations, the elections to vacant benefices were restored to their antient purity and freedom *; the *Annates* and other pecuniary pretensions and encroachments of the pontifs abolished, and the authority of a general council declared superior to that of the pope. This edict was drawn up in concert with the fathers of the council of *Basil*, and the twenty-three articles it contains were taken from the decrees of that council; though they were admitted by the Gallican church with certain modifications, which the nature of the times, and the manners of the nation, rendered expedient. Such then was the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which pope Pius II. engaged LEWIS XI. (who received upon that occasion, for him and

☞ * That is to say, that these elections were wrested out of the hands of the popes, who had usurped them, and that, by the *Pragmatic Sanction*, every church had the privilege of chusing its bishop, and every monastery its abbot or prior. By the *Concordate*, or agreement, between FRANCIS I. and LEO X. (which was substituted in the place of the *Pragmatic Sanction*), the nomination to the bishoprics in *France*, and the collation of certain benefices of the higher class, were vested in the kings of *France*. An ample and satisfactory account of this convention may be seen in bishop BURNET's excellent *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 3. and in a book, entitled, *Histoire du Droit public Ecclesiastique Francois*, published in octavo in 1737, and in quarto in 1752.

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bited to the world was in the year 1463, when he publiſhed a ſolemn retractation of all that he had written in favour of the council of *Baſil*, and declared, without either ſhame or heſitation, that, as ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, he was a damnable heretic; but, as PIUS II., he was an orthodox pontif. This indecent declaration was the laſt circumſtance, worthy of notice, that happened during his pontificate; for he departed this life in the month of July, in the year 1464 [o].

Paulus II.

XVII. PAUL II., a Venetian by birth, whoſe name was PETER BARD, was raiſed to the head of the church in the year 1464, and died in the year 1471. His adminiſtration was diſtinguiſhed by ſome meaſures, which, if we conſider the genius of the times, were worthy of praiſe; though it muſt, at the ſame time, be confeſſed, that he did many things, which were evidently inexcuſable, not to mention his reducing the jubilee circle to twenty-five years; and thus accelerating the return of that moſt abſurd and ſuperſtitious ceremony. So that his reputation became at leaſt dubious in after-times, and was viewed in differ-

and his ſucceſſors, the title of *Moſt Chriſtian*) to aboliſh, by a ſolemn declaration, the full execution of which was, however, prevented by the noble ſtand made by the univerſity of *Paris* in favour of the *Pragmatic Sanction*. LEWIS alſo perceiving that he had been deluded into this declaration by the treacherous inſinuations of GEOFFRY, biſhop of *Arras* (whom the pope had bribed with a cardinal's cap, and large promiſes of a more lucrative kind) took no ſort of pains to have it executed, but publiſhed, on the contrary, new edicts againſt the pecuniary pretenſions and extortions of the court of *Rome*. So that in reality the *Pragmatic Sanction* was not aboliſhed before the *Concordate*, or agreement, which was tranſacted between FRANCIS I. and LEO X., in the year 1517, and was forced upon the French nation in oppoſition to the united efforts of the clergy, the univerſity, the parliament, and the people. See, for a farther account of this matter, DU CLOS, *Hiſtoire de Louis* XI., vol. i. p. 115—132.

[o] Beſides the writers of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſee *Nouveaux Diction. Hiſtor. et Critique*, tom. ii. at the article ENEE SYLVIUS, p. 26.

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ent lights by different perſons [*p*]. The following pontifs, SIXTUS IV. and INNOCENT VIII., whoſe names were FRANCIS ALBESCOLA and JOHN BAPTIST SIBO, were neither remarkable for their virtues nor their vices. The former departed this life in the year 1484, and the latter in 1492. Filled with the moſt terrible apprehenſions of the danger that threatened *Europe* in general, and *Italy* in particular, from the growing power of the Turks, they both attempted putting themſelves in a poſture of defence, and warmly exhorted the European princes to put a ſtop to the progreſs of that warlike people. But many obſtacles aroſe, which prevented the execution of this important deſign, and rendered the exhortations of theſe zealous pontifs without effect. The other undertakings that were projected or carried on, during their continuance at the head of the church, are not of importance ſufficient to require particular notice.

Alexander VI.

XVIII. In the ſeries of pontifs that ruled the church during this century, the laſt, in order of time, was ALEXANDER VI., a Spaniard by birth, whoſe name was RODERIC BORGIA. The life and actions of this man ſhew, that there was a *Nero* among the popes as well as among the emperors. The crimes and enormities that hiſtory has imputed to this papal *Nero*, evidently prove him to have been not only deſtitute of all religious and virtuous principles, but even regardleſs of decency, and hardened againſt the very feeling of ſhame. And, though it may be poſſible,

[*p*] PAUL II. has had the good fortune to find, in one of the moſt eminent and learned men of this age (the famous cardinal LUIRINI), a zealous apologiſt. See among the productions of that illuſtrious prelate, the piece, entitled, *Pauli* II. *Vita ex Codice Anglicæ Bibliothecæ dejumpta, præmiſſis ipſius vindiciis adverſus Platinam*, aliſque obtrectatores, *Romæ*, 1740, in 4to.

that

that the malignity of his enemies may have forged falſe accuſations againſt him, and, in ſome inſtances, exaggerated the horror of his real crimes; yet there is upon record, an authentic liſt of undoubted facts, which, both by their number and their atrocity, are ſufficient to render the name and memory of ALEXANDER VI. odious and deteſtable in the eſteem even of ſuch as have the ſmalleſt tincture of virtuous principles and feelings. An inordinate affection for his children was the principal ſource from whence proceeded a great part of the crimes he committed. He had four ſons of a concubine with whom he had lived many years, among whom was the infamous CÆSAR BORGIA. A daughter, named LUCRETIA, was likewiſe among the fruits of this unlawful commerce. The tenderneſs of the pontif for this ſpurious offspring was exceſſive beyond all expreſſion; his only aim was to load them with riches and honours; and, in the execution of this purpoſe, he trampled with contempt upon every obſtacle, which the demands of juſtice, the dictates of reaſon, and the remonſtrances of religion, laid in his way [*q*]. Thus he went on in his profligate career until the year 1503, when the poiſon, which he and his ſon CÆSAR had mingled for others who ſtood in the way of their avarice and ambition, cut ſhort, by a happy miſtake, his own days [*r*].

[*q*] The life of this execrable tyrant has been written in Engliſh by Mr. ALEXANDER GORDON, whoſe work was tranſlated into French, and publiſhed at *Amſterdam* in 1732. The ſame ſubject has, however, been handled with more moderation by the ingenious and learned author of the *Hiſtoire du Droit Publ. Eccleſ. François*, to which Hiſtory are ſubjoined the lives of ALEXANDER VI. and LEO X.

[*r*] Such is the account which the beſt hiſtorians have given of the death of ALEXANDER VI.; VOLTAIRE, notwithſtanding, has pretended to prove, that this pontif died a natural death.

XIX. The

The monks.

XIX. The monaſtic ſocieties, as we learn from a multitude of authentic records, and from the teſtimonies of the beſt writers, were, at this time, ſo many herds of lazy, illiterate, profligate, and licentious Epicureans, whoſe views in life were confined to opulence, idleneſs, and pleaſure. The rich monks, particularly thoſe of the Benedictine and Auguſtine orders, perverted their revenues to the gratification of their luſts; and renouncing, in their conduct, all regard to their reſpective rules of diſcipline, drew upon themſelves a popular odium by their ſenſuality and licentiouſneſs [*s*]. This was matter of affliction to many wiſe and good men, eſpecially in *France* and *Germany*, who formed the pious deſign of ſtemming the torrent of monkiſh luxury, and excited a ſpirit of reformation among that degenerate order [*t*]. Among the German reformers, who undertook the reſtoration of virtue and temperance in the convents, NICHOLAS DE MAZEN, an Auſtrian abbot, and NICHOLAS DUNKELSPUHL, profeſſor at *Vienna*, held the firſt rank. They attempted, with unparalleled zeal and aſſiduity, the reformation of the Benedictines throughout all *Germany*, and ſucceeded ſo far, as to reſtore, at leaſt, a certain air of decency and virtue in the monaſteries of *Swabia*, *Franconia*, and *Bavaria* [*u*]. The reformation of the ſame order was attempted in *France* by many, and particularly by GUIDO, or GUY JUVENAL, a learned man, whoſe writings, upon that and on other

[*s*] See MARTINI SENGING, *Teutiones Ordinis S. Benedicti*, ſeu *Oratio* in *Concilio Baſilienſi*, A. 1433, contra vitia Benedict. recitata, in BERNH. PEZII *Biblioth. Aſcetica*, tom. viii. p. 517.

[*t*] See LEIBNITII *Præf. ad* tom. ii. *Scriptor. Brunſvic.* p. 40.

[*u*] For an account of theſe reformers, ſee MARTIN KROPF. *Bibliotheca Mellicenſis, ſeu de vitis et Scriptis Benedictinor. Mellicenſium*, p. 143. 163. 203. 296.

ſubjects, were received with applauſe [*w*]. It is however certain, that the greateſt part of the monks, both in *France* and elſewhere, reſiſted, with obſtinacy, the ſalutary attempts of theſe ſpiritual phyſicians, and returned their zeal with the worſt treatment that it was poſſible to ſhew them.

The Mendicants,

XX. While the opulent monks exhibited to the world ſcandalous examples of luxury, ignorance, lazineſs, and licentiouſneſs, accompanied with a barbarous averſion to every thing that carried the remoteſt aſpect of ſcience, the Mendicants, and more eſpecially the Dominicans and Franciſcans, were chargeable with irregularities of another kind. Beſides their arrogance, which was exceſſive, a quarrelſome and litigious ſpirit, an ambitious deſire of encroaching upon the rights and privileges of others, an inſatiable zeal for the propagation of ſuperſtition, and the itch of diſputing and of ſtarting abſurd and intricate queſtions of a religious kind, prevailed among them, and drew upon them juſtly the diſpleaſure and indignation of many. It was this wrangling ſpirit that perpetuated the controverſies which had ſubſiſted ſo long between them and the biſhops, and indeed the whole ſacerdotal order; and it was their vain curioſity, and their inordinate paſſion for novelty, that made the divines, in the greateſt part of the European academies, complain of the dangerous and deſtructive errors they had introduced into religion. Theſe complaints were repeated, without interruption, in all the provinces where the Mendicants had any credit; and the ſame complaints were often preſented to the court of *Rome*, where they exerciſed ſufficiently both the patience and ſubtilty of the pontifs and their miniſters. The different pon-

[*w*] See LIRON, *Singularités Hiſtoriques et Litteraires*, tom. iii. p. 49.

tifs that ruled the church, during this century, were differently affected towards the Mendicants; ſome patronized them, others oppoſed them; and this circumſtance frequently changed the face of things, and, for a long time, rendered the deciſion of the conteſt dubious [x]. The perſecution that was carried on againſt the *Beguins* became alſo an occaſion of increaſing the odium that had been caſt upon the begging monks, and was extremely prejudicial to their intereſts. For the *Beguins* and *Lollards*, to eſcape the fury of their inveterate enemies, the biſhops and others, frequently took refuge in the third order of the Franciſcans, Dominicans, and Auguſtinians, hoping that, in the patronage and protection of theſe powerful and reſpected ſocieties, they ſhould find a ſecure retreat from the calamities that oppreſſed them. Nor were their hopes entirely diſappointed here; but the ſtorm that hitherto purſued them, fell upon their new patrons and protectors, the *Mendicants*, who, by affording a refuge to a ſect ſo odious to the clergy, drew upon themſelves the indignation of that ſacred order, and were thereby involved in difficulties and perplexities of various kinds [y].

The fate of the Fratricelli.

XXI. The more auſtere and rebellious Franciſcans, who, ſeparating themſelves from the church, renounced their allegiance to the Roman pontifs, and were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Fratricelli*, or *Minorites*, continued, together with their *Tertiaries*, the *Beghards*, to carry on an open war againſt the court of *Rome*. Their head-quarters were in *Italy*, in the marquiſate of *Ancona*, and the neighbouring countries; for it

[x] See LAUNOII *Lib. de Canone: Omnis Utriuſque Sexus*, opp. tom. i. part I. p. 287.—BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Pariſ.* tom. v. p. 189. 196. 204. 522. 558. 601. 617. 752.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiqq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 210. 212. 224.

[y] See the preceding century.

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was there that their leader and chief ruler reſided. They were perſecuted, about the middle of this century, with the greateſt ſeverity by pope NICHOLAS V., who employed every method he could think of to vanquiſh their obſtinacy, ſending for that purpoſe ſucceſſively againſt them the Franciſcan monks, armed hoſts, and civil magiſtrates, and committing to the flames many of thoſe who remained unmoved by all theſe means of converſion [z]. This heavy perſecution was carried on by the ſucceeding pontifs, and by none with greater bitterneſs and vehemence than by PAUL II.; though it is ſaid, that this pope choſe rather to conquer the headſtrong and ſtubborn perſeverance of this ſect by impriſonment and exile, than by fire and ſword [a]. The *Fratricelli*, on the other hand, animated by the protection of ſeveral perſons of great influence, who became their patrons on account of the ſtriking appearance of ſanctity which they exhibited to the world, oppoſed force to force, and went ſo far as to put to death ſome of the inquiſitors, among whom ANGELO of *Camaldoli* fell a victim to their vengeance [b]. Nor were the commotions raiſed by this troubleſome ſect confined to *Italy*; other countries felt the effects of their petulant zeal; and *Bohemia* and *Sileſia* (where they preached with warmth their favourite doctrine, *that the true imi-*

[z] MAURITIUS SARTIUS, *De Antiqua Picentum civitate Cupromontana*, in ANGELI CALOGERÆ *Raccolta di Opuſculi Scientifici*, tom. xxxix. p. 39. 81. 97. where we have ſeveral extracts from the *Manuſcript Dialogue of* JACOBUS DE MARCHIA againſt the *Fratricelli*.

[a] ANG. MAR. QUIRINI *Vita Pauli* II., p. 78.—Jo. TARGIONIUS, *Præf. ad Claror. Venetor. Epiſtolas ad Magliabechium*, tom. i. p. 43. where we have an account of the books that were written againſt the *Fratricelli* by NICHOLAS PALMERIUS and others under the pontificate of PAUL II., and which are yet in manuſcript.

[b] See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. *Maii*, p. 356.

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tation of Chriſt conſiſted in beggary, and extreme poverty) became the theatre of the ſpiritual war [*c*]. The king of *Bohemia* was well affected to theſe fanatics, granted them his protection, and was, on that account, excommunicated by PAUL II. [*d*]. In *France*, their affairs were far from being proſperous; ſuch of them as fell into the hands of the inquiſitors were committed to the flames [*e*], and they were eagerly ſearched after in the province of *Tholouſe* and the adjacent countries, where great numbers of them lay concealed, and endeavoured to eſcape the vigilance of their enemies; while ſeveral of their ſcattered parties removed to *England* and *Ireland* [*f*]. The dreadful ſeries of calamities and perſecutions that purſued this miſerable ſect was not ſufficient to extinguiſh it entirely; for it ſubſiſted until the times of the reformation in *Germany*, when its remaining votaries adopted the cauſe, and embraced the doctrine and diſcipline of LUTHER.

New orders: the Brethren and Clerks of the common life.

XXII. Of the religious fraternities that were founded in this century, none deſerves a more honourable mention, than the *Brethren and Clerks of the common life* (as they called themſelves), who lived under the rule of St. AUGUSTIN, and were eminently uſeful in promoting the cauſe of religion, learning and virtue. This ſociety had been formed in the preceding age by GERARD DE GROOTE, a native of *Deventer* [*g*], and a man re-

[*c*] Jo. GEORGII SCHELHORNII *Acta Hiſtorica Eccleſ.* part I. p. 66. 283.

[*d*] QUIRINI *Vita Pauli* II., p. 73.

[*e*] I have in manuſcript in my poſſeſſion, the acts, or decrees, of the *Inquiſition* againſt JOHN GUDULCHI DE CASTELLIONE and FRANCIS DE ARCHATA, both of them *Fratricelli*, who were burnt in *France* in the year 1454.

[*f*] WOOD, *Antiqq. Oxonienſ.* tom. i. p. 232.

[*g*] The life of this famous Dutchman GERARD GROOTE was written by THOMAS A KEMPIS, and is to be found in his WORKS. It ſtands at the head of the lives of eleven of his contemporaries, which were compoſed by this eminent writer.

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markable for his fervent piety and extenſive erudition; it was not, however, before the preſent century, that it received a proper degree of conſiſtence; and, having obtained the approbation of the council of *Conſtance*, flouriſhed in *Holland*, the *Lower Germany*, and the adjacent provinces. It was divided into two claſſes, the *Lettered Brethren*, or *Clerks*, and the *Illiterate*, who, though they occupied ſeparate habitations, lived in the firmeſt bonds of fraternal union. The *Clerks* applied themſelves with exemplary zeal and aſſiduity to the ſtudy of polite literature, and to the education of youth. They compoſed learned works for the inſtruction of their contemporaries, and erected ſchools and ſeminaries of learning wherever they went. The *Illiterate Brethren*, on the other hand, were employed in manual labour, and exerciſed with ſucceſs the mechanic arts. Neither of the two claſſes were under the reſtraint of religious *vows*; yet they had all things in common, and this community was the great bond of their union. The *Siſters* of this virtuous ſociety lived much in the ſame manner, and employed the hours, that were not conſecrated to prayer and reading, in the education of young girls, and in branches of induſtry ſuitable to their ſex. The ſchools, that were erected by the *Clerks* of this fraternity, acquired a great and illuſtrious reputation in this century. From them iſſued forth thoſe immortal reſtorers of learning and taſte that gave a new face to the republic of letters in *Germany* and *Holland*, ſuch as ERASMUS of *Rotterdam*, ALEXANDER HEGIUS, JOHN MURMELIUS, and ſeveral others [*h*]. The inſtitution of the order of

[*h*] Accounts of this order have been given by AUB. MIREUS, in his *Chronicon. ad A.* 1384, and by HELYOT, in his *Hiſtory of the Religious Orders*, tom. iii. But, in that which I have here given, there are ſome circumſtances taken from ancient records not yet publiſhed. I have in my poſſeſſion ſeveral manuſcripts,

of the Jeſuits ſeemed to diminiſh the credit of theſe excellent ſchools, which, from that period, began to decline, and of which there are, at this time, but very few remaining. The *Brethren of the common life* were frequently called *Beghards* and *Lollards*, appellations that had been given to ſo many different ſects, and were obliged to ſuſtain the inſults and oppoſition of the clergy and monks, who had an inexpreſſible averſion to every thing that bore the remoteſt aſpect of learning or taſte [*i*].

The Greek writers.

XXIII. Of the Greeks, who acquired a name by their learned productions, the moſt eminent were,

SIMEON of *Theſſalonica*, the author of ſeveral treatiſes, and, among others, of a book againſt the *Hereſies* that had troubled the church; to which we may add his writings againſt the Latins, which are yet extant [*k*];

JOSEPHUS BRYENNIUS, who wrote a book *Concerning the Trinity*, and another againſt the Latins;

MACARIUS MACRES, whoſe animoſity againſt the Latins was carried to the greateſt height;

GEORGE PHRANZA, whoſe hiſtorical talent makes a figure in the compilation of the Byzantine hiſtorians;

ſcripts, which furniſh materials for a much clearer and more circumſtantial account of the inſtitution and progreſs of this order, than can be derived from the books that have hitherto appeared on that ſubject.

[*i*] We read frequently, in the records of this century, of ſchools erected by the *Lollards*, and ſometimes by the *Beghards*, at *Deventer*, *Brunſwic*, *Koningſberg*, and *Munſter*, and many other places. Now theſe *Lollards* were the *Clerks of the common life*, who, on account of their virtue, induſtry, and learning, which rendered them ſo uſeful in the education of youth, were invited by the magiſtrates of ſeveral cities to reſide among them.

[*k*] Jo. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Bibl. Græc.* vol. xiv. p. 49.—RICH. SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliotheque Eccleſ. par M.* DU PIN, tom. i. p. 400.

MARCUS EPHESIUS, who was an obſtinate enemy to the council of *Florence* [*l*];

Cardinal BESSARION, the illuſtrious protector and ſupporter of the Platonic ſchool, a man of unparalleled genius and erudition; but much hated by the Greeks, becauſe he ſeemed to lean to the party of the Latins, and propoſed an union of the two nations to the prejudice of the former [*m*];

GEORGE SCHOLARIUS, otherwiſe called GENNADIUS, who wrote againſt the Latins, and more eſpecially againſt the council of *Florence*, with more learning, candour, and perſpicuity than the reſt of his countrymen [*n*];

GEORGE GEMISTIUS PLETHO, a man of eminent learning, who excited many of the Italians to the ſtudy, not only of the Platonic philoſophy in particular, but of Grecian literature in general;

GEORGE of *Trapeſond*, who tranſlated ſeveral of the moſt eminent Grecian authors into Latin, and ſupported the cauſe of the Latins againſt the Greeks by his dexterous and eloquent pen;

GEORGE CODINUS, of whom we have yet remaining ſeveral productions relating to the Byzantine hiſtory.

Latin writers.

XXIV. The tribe of Latin writers, that adorned or diſhonoured this century, is not to be numbered. We ſhall therefore confine ourſelves to the enumeration of thoſe who wrote upon theological matters, and even of theſe we ſhall only

[*l*] RICH. SIMON, *l. c.* tom. i. p. 431.

[*m*] For an account of BESSARION and the other learned men here mentioned, ſee BORNERUS and HODY, in their hiſtories of the Reſtoration of Letters in *Italy*, by the Greeks that took refuge there after the taking of *Conſtantinople*; add to theſe the *Bibliotheca Græca* of FABRICIUS.

[*n*] RICH. SIMON, *Croyance de l'Egliſe Orientale ſur la Tranſubſtantiation*, p. 87. & *Critique de M.* DU PIN, tom. i. p. 438.

mention

mention the moſt eminent. At their head we may juſtly place JOHN GERSON, chancellor of the univerſity of *Paris*, the moſt illuſtrious ornament that this age can boaſt of, a man of the greateſt influence and authority, whom the council of *Conſtance* looked upon as its oracle, the lovers of liberty as their patron, and whoſe memory is yet precious to ſuch among the French, as are at all zealous for the maintenance of their privileges againſt papal deſpotiſm [*o*]. This excellent man publiſhed a conſiderable number of treatiſes that were admirably adapted to reform the corruptions of a ſuperſtitious worſhip, to excite a ſpirit of genuine piety, and to heal the wounds of a divided church: though, in ſome reſpects, he does not ſeem to have underſtood thoroughly the demands and injunctions of the goſpel of CHRIST. The moſt eminent among the other theological writers were,

NICHOLAS DE CLEMANGIS, a man of uncommon candour and integrity, who lamented, in the moſt eloquent and affecting ſtrains, the calamities of the times, and the unhappy ſtate of the Chriſtian church [*p*];

ALPHONSUS TOSTATUS, biſhop of *Avila*, who loaded the Holy Scriptures with an unwieldy and voluminous Commentary, and compoſed alſo other works, in which there is a great mixture of good and bad;

[*o*] See DU PIN, *Gerſonianorum Libri* iv. which are prefixed to the edition of the Works of GERSON, which we owe to that laborious author, and which was publiſhed at *Antwerp* in five volumes folio, in the year 1706. See alſo Jo. LAUNOII *Hiſtoria Gymnaſii Regii Navarreni*, part III. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 514. tom. iv. part I. opp.—HERM. von der HARDT, *Acta Concil. Conſtant.* tom. i. part IV. p. 26.

[*p*] See LAUNOII *Hiſtor. Gymnaſ. Navarr.* part III. lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 555.—LONGUEVAL, *Hiſt. de l'Egliſe Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 436.—The Works of CLEMANGIS were publiſhed, ſome pieces excepted, at *Leyden*, with a Gloſſary, in the year 1631, by LYDIUS.

AMBROSE

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AMBROSE of *Camalduli*, who acquired a high degree of reputation by his profound knowledge of the Greek language, and his uncommon acquaintance with Grecian literature, as alſo by the zeal and induſtry he diſcovered in the attempts he made to effectuate a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins;

NICHOLAS DE CUSA, a man of vaſt erudition, and no mean genius, though not ſo famed for the ſolidity of his judgment, as may appear from a work of his entitled, *Conjectures concerning the laſt day* [q];

JOHN NIEDER, whoſe writings are very proper to give us an accurate notion of the manners and ſpirit of the age in which he lived, and whoſe voyages and tranſactions have rendered him famous;

JOHN CAPISTRAN, who was in high eſteem at the court of *Rome*, on account of the ardor and vehemence with which he defended the juriſdiction and majeſty of the pontifs againſt all their enemies and oppoſers [r];

JOHN WESSELUS and JEROME SAVANAROLA, who may juſtly be placed among the wiſeſt and worthieſt men of this age. The former, who was a native of *Groningen*, and on account of his extraordinary penetration and ſagacity was called the *Light of the World*, propagated ſeveral of thoſe doctrines, which LUTHER afterwards inculcated with greater evidence and energy, and animadverted with freedom and candour upon the corruptions of the Roman church [s]. The latter was a Dominican and a native of *Ferrara*, re-

[q] BAYLE, *Reponſe aux Queſtions d'un Provincial*, tom. ii. cap. cxvii. p. 517.—The works of NICHOLAS were publiſhed, in one volume, at *Baſil*, in the year 1565.

[r] LENFANT, *Hiſtoire de la Guerre des Huſſites*, tom. ii. p. 254.—WADDINGI *Annales Minorum*, tom. ix. p. 67.

[s] Jo. HENR. MAII *Vita Reuchlini*, p. 156.

markable

markable for piety, eloquence, and learning, who touched the ſores of the church with a heavier hand, and inveighed againſt the pontifs with greater ſeverity. This freedom coſt him dear; he was committed to the flames at *Florence* in the year 1498, and bore his fate with the moſt triumphant fortitude and ſerenity of mind [*t*];

ALPHONSUS SPINA, who wrote a book againſt the Jews and Saracens, which he called *Fortalitium Fidei.*

To all theſe we muſt join the whole tribe of the ſcholaſtic writers, whoſe chief ornaments were, JOHN CAPREOLUS, JOHN DE TURRECREMATA, ANTONINUS of *Florence*, DYONYSIUS a RYCKEL, HENRY GORCOMIUS, GABRIEL BIEL, STEPHEN BRULIFER, and others. The moſt remarkable among the Myſtics were, VINCENTIUS FERRERINUS, HENR. HARPHIUS, LAURENTIUS JUSTINIANUS, BERNARDINUS SENENSIS, and THOMAS A KEMPIS, who ſhone among theſe with a ſuperior luſtre, and to whom the famous book, *Concerning the Imitation of Chriſt*, is commonly attributed [*u*].

[*t*] B. Jo. FRANC. BUDDEI *Parerga Hiſtorico-Theologica.* The life of SAVANAROLA was written by J. FRANCIS PICUS, and publiſhed in two volumes, 8vo, at *Paris*, with various Annotations, Letters, and original Pieces by QUETIF, in the year 1674. The ſame editor publiſhed alſo at *Paris*, that ſame year, the *Spiritual and Aſcetic Epiſtles of* SAVANAROLA, tranſlated from the Italian into Latin. See ECHARD, *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 884.

[*u*] The late Abbé LANGLET DE FRESNOY promiſed the world a demonſtration that this famous book, whoſe true author has been ſo much diſputed among the learned, was originally written in French by a perſon named GERSEN, or GERSON, and only tranſlated into Latin by THOMAS A KEMPIS. See GRANETUS in *Launoianis*, part II. tom. iv. part II. opp. p. 414, 415. The Hiſtory of this famous book is given by VINCENTIUS THUILLIERIUS, in the *Opera Poſthuma Mabilloni et Ruinarti*, tom. iii. p. 54.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the ſtate of religion, and the doctrine of the Church during this century.

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The corrupt ſtate of religion.

I. THE ſtate of religion was become ſo corrupt among the Latins, that it was utterly deſtitute of any thing that could attract the eſteem of the truly virtuous and judicious part of mankind. This is a fact, which even they whoſe prejudices render them unwilling to acknowledge it, will never preſume to deny. Among the Greeks and Orientals, religion had ſcarcely a better aſpect than among the Latins; at leaſt, if the difference was in their favour, it was far from being conſiderable. The worſhip of the Deity conſiſted in a round of frivolous and inſipid ceremonies. The diſcourſes of thoſe who inſtructed the people in public, were not only deſtitute of ſenſe, judgment, and ſpirit, but even of piety and devotion, and were in reality nothing more than a motley mixture of the groſſeſt fictions, and the moſt extravagant inventions. The reputation of Chriſtian knowledge and piety was eaſily acquired; it was laviſhed upon thoſe who profeſſed a profound veneration for the ſacred order, and their ghoſtly head the Roman pontif, who ſtudied to render the ſaints (*i. e.* the clergy, their miniſter) propitious by frequent and rich donations, who were exact and regular in the obſervance of the ſtated ceremonies of the church, and who had wealth enough to pay the fines which the papal quæſtors had annexed to the commiſſion of all the different degrees of tranſgreſſion; or, in other words, to purchaſe indulgences. Such were the ingredients of *ordinary* piety; but ſuch as added to theſe a certain degree of

of auſterity and bodily mortification were placed in the higheſt order of worthies, and conſidered as the peculiar favourites of heaven. On the other hand, the number of thoſe who were ſtudious to acquire a juſt notion of religious matters, to inveſtigate the true ſenſe of the ſacred writings, and to model their lives and manners after the precepts and example of the divine Saviour, was extremely ſmall, and ſuch had much difficulty in eſcaping the gibbet, in an age where virtue and ſenſe were looked upon as heretical.

Defenders of the true religion raiſed by Providence in ſeveral places.

II. This miſerable ſtate of things, this enormous perverſion of religion and morality throughout almoſt all the weſtern provinces, were obſerved and deplored by many wiſe and good men, who all endeavoured, though in different ways, to ſtem the torrent of ſuperſtition, and to reform a corrupt church. In *England* and *Scotland*, the diſciples of WICKLIFF, whom the multitude had ſtigmatized with the odious title of *Lollards*, continued to inveigh againſt the deſpotic laws of the pontifs, and the licentious manners of the clergy [*w*]. The *Waldenſes*, though perſecuted and oppreſſed on all ſides, and from every quarter, raiſed their voices even in the remote vallies and lurking-places whither they were driven by the violence of their enemies, and called aloud for ſuccour to the expiring cauſe of religion and virtue. Even in *Italy* many, and among others the famous SAVANAROLA, had the courage to declare, that *Rome* was become the image of *Babylon*; and this notion was ſoon adopted by multitudes of all ranks and conditions. But the greateſt part of the clergy and monks, perſuaded that their honours, influence, and riches would diminiſh in proportion to the increaſe of knowledge among the people, and

[*w*] See WILKINS, *Concilia Magnæ Britann. et Hibern.* tom. iv.—WOOD, *Antiqq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 202, 204.

would

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would receive inexpreſſible detriment from the downfal of ſuperſtition, oppoſed, with all their might, every thing that had the remoteſt aſpect of a reformation, and impoſed ſilence upon theſe importunate cenſors by the formidable authority of fire and ſword.

Commotions in *Bohemia.*

III. The religious diſſenſions that had been excited in *Bohemia* by the miniſtry of JOHN HUSS and his diſciple JACOBELLUS DE MISA, were doubly inflamed by the deplorable fate of HUSS and JEROME of *Prague*, and broke out into an open war, which was carried on with the moſt ſavage and unparalleled barbarity. The followers of Huss, who pleaded for the adminiſtration of the cup to the laity in the holy ſacrament, being perſecuted and oppreſſed in various ways by the emiſſaries and miniſters of the court of *Rome*, retired to a ſteep and high mountain in the diſtrict of *Bechin*, in which they held their religious meetings, and adminiſtered the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper *under both kinds*. This mountain they called *Tabor*, from the tents which they at firſt erected there for their habitation; and in proceſs of time they raiſed a ſtrong fortification for its defence, and adorned it with a well-built and regular city. Nor did they ſtop here; but, forming more grand and important projects, they choſe for their chiefs NICHOLAS of *Huſſinet*, and the famous JOHN ZISKA, a Bohemian knight, a man of the moſt undaunted courage and reſolution; and propoſed, under the ſtandards of theſe valiant leaders, to revenge the death of HUSS and JEROME upon the creatures of the Roman pontif, and obtain a liberty of worſhipping God in a more rational manner than that which was preſcribed by the church of *Rome*. After the death of NICHOLAS, which happened in the year 1420, ZISKA commanded alone this warlike body, and had the ſatisfaction to ſee his army increaſe from day to day.

day. During the firſt tumults of this war, which were no more than a prelude to calamities of a much more dreadful kind, WENCESLAUS, king of *Bohemia*, departed this life in the year 1419 [*x*].

IV. The emperor SIGISMUND, who ſucceeded him in the throne of *Bohemia*, employed not only edicts and remonſtrances, but alſo the terror of *penal laws, and the force of arms, to put an end to theſe lamentable diviſions; and great numbers* of the Huſſites periſhed, *by his orders, in* the moſt barbarous manner. The Bohemians, irritated by theſe inhuman proceedings, threw off his deſpotic yoke in the year 1420, and, with ZISKA at their head, made war againſt their ſovereign. This famous leader, though deprived of his ſight, diſcovered, in every ſtep he took, ſuch an admirable mixture of prudence and intrepidity, that his name became a terror to his enemies. Upon his death, which happened in the year 1424, the plurality of the Huſſites choſe for their general PROCOPIUS RASA, a man alſo of undaunted courage and reſolution, who maintained their cauſe and carried on the war with ſpirit and ſucceſs. The acts of barbarity that were committed on both ſides, were ſhocking and terrible beyond expreſſion; for, notwithſtanding the irreconcileable oppoſition that there was between the religious ſentiments of the contending parties, they both agreed in this one horrible point, that it was innocent and lawful to perſecute and extirpate with fire and ſword the enemies of the true

The Huſſite was carried on by Ziſka and Procopius Raſa.

☞ [*x*] This prince had no ſooner begun to execute the decrees of the council of *Conſtance* againſt the Huſſites, than the inhabitants of *Prague* took fire at their proceeding, raiſed a tumult, murdered the magiſtrates who publiſhed the order, and committed other outrages, which filled the court of Wenceſlaus with conſternation, and ſo affected that puſillanimous monarch, that he was ſeized with an apoplexy, of which he died in a few days.

religion,

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religion, and ſuch they reciprocally appeared to be in each other's eyes. The Bohemians maintained, that Huss had been unjuſtly put to death at *Conſtance*, and conſequently revenged, with the utmoſt fury, the injury that had been done him. They acknowledged it nevertheleſs, as an inconteſtible principle, that *heretics* were worthy of capital puniſhment; but they denied obſtinately that Huss was a *heretic*. This pernicious maxim, then, was the ſource of that cruelty that diſhonoured the exploits of both the parties in this dreadful war; and it is, perhaps, difficult to determine, which of the two carried this cruelty to the greateſt height.

The Calixtines.

V. All thoſe who undertook to avenge the death of the Bohemian martyr, ſet out upon the ſame principles, and, at the commencement of the war, they ſeemed to agree both in their religious ſentiments and in their demands upon the church and government from which they had withdrawn themſelves. But as their numbers increaſed, their union diminiſhed, and their army being prodigiouſly augmented by a confluence of ſtrangers from all quarters, a great diſſenſion aroſe among them, which, in the year 1420, came to an open rupture, and divided this multitude into two great factions, which were diſtinguiſhed by the titles of *Calixtines* and *Taborites*. The former, who were ſo called from their inſiſting upon the uſe of the *cup*, or chalice, in the celebration of the euchariſt, were mild in their proceedings, and modeſt in their demands, and ſhewed no diſpoſition to overturn the ancient ſyſtem of church-government, or to make any conſiderable changes in the religion which was publicly received. All that they required, may be comprehended under the four articles which follow. They demanded, *firſt*, that the word of God ſhould be explained to the people in a plain and perſpicuous manner, without

without the mixture of ſuperſtitious comments or inventions; *ſecondly*, that the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper ſhould be adminiſtered *in both kinds*; *thirdly*, that the clergy, inſtead of employing all their attention and zeal in the acquiſition of riches and power, ſhould turn their thoughts to objects more ſuitable to their profeſſion, and be ambitious of living and acting as became the ſucceſſors of the holy apoſtles; and *fourthly*, that tranſgreſſions of a more heinous kind, or *mortal ſins*, ſhould be puniſhed in a manner ſuitable to their enormity. In this great faction, however, there were ſome ſubordinate ſects, who were divided upon ſeveral points. The adminiſtration of the Lord's ſupper was one occaſion of diſpute; JACOBELLUS DE MISA, who had firſt propoſed the celebration of that ordinance *under both kinds*, was of opinion, that infants had a right to partake of it, and this opinion was adopted by many; while others maintained the contrary doctrine, and confined the privilege in queſtion to perſons of riper years [*y*].

Taborites.

VI. The demands of the *Taborites*, who derived their name from a mountain well known in ſacred hiſtory, were much more ample. They not only inſiſted upon reducing the religion of JESUS to its primitive ſimplicity; but required alſo, that the ſyſtem of eccleſiaſtical government ſhould be reformed in the ſame manner, the authority of the pope deſtroyed, the form of divine worſhip changed; they demanded, in a word, the erection of a new church, a new hierarchy, in which CHRIST alone ſhould reign, and all things ſhould be carried on by a divine direction and impulſe. In maintaining theſe extravagant demands, the principal doctors among the *Taborites*, ſuch as MARTIN LOQUIS, a Moravian, and his followers, went ſo far as to flatter themſelves with the chi-

[*y*] BYZINII *Diarium Huſſiticum*, p. 130.

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merical notion, that CHRIST would deſcend in perſon upon earth, armed with fire and ſword, to extirpate hereſy, and purify the church from its multiplied corruptions. Theſe fanatical dreams they propagated every where, and taught them even in a public manner with unparalleled confidence and preſumption. It is this enthuſiaſtic claſs of the Huſſites alone, that we are to look upon as accountable for all thoſe abominable acts of violence, rapine, deſolation, and murder, which are too indiſcriminately laid to the charge of the Huſſites in general, and to their two leaders ZISKA and PROCOPIUS in particular [z]. It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that a great part of the Huſſites had imbibed the moſt barbarous ſentiments with reſpect to the obligation of executing vengeance upon their enemies, againſt

[z] From the following opinions and maxims of the Taborites, which may be ſeen in the *Diarium Huſſiticum* of BYZINIUS, we may form a juſt idea of their deteſtable barbarity: *Omnes legis Chriſti adverſarii debent puniri ſeptem plagis noviſſimis, ad quarum executionem fideles ſunt provocandi.—In iſto tempore ultionis Chriſtus in ſua humilitate et miſeratione non eſt imitandus ad ipſos peccatores, ſed in zelo et furore et juſta retributione.—In hoc tempore ultionis, quilibet fidelis, etiam preſbyter,* quantumcunque ſpiritualis, eſt maledictus, QUI GLADIUM SUUM CORPORALEM PROHIBET A SANGUINE *adverſariorum legis Chriſti, ſed* DEBET MANUS SUAS LAVARE IN EORUM SANGUINE *et ſanctificare.* From men, who adopted ſuch horrid and deteſtable maxims, what could be expected but the moſt abominable acts of injuſtice and cruelty? For an account of this dreadful and calamitous war, the reader may conſult (beſides the ancient writers, ſuch as SYLVIUS, THEOBALDUS, COCHLÆUS, and others) LENFANT, *Hiſtoire de la guerre des Huſſites*, which was publiſhed at *Amſterdam* in two volumes in 4to, in the year 1731. To this hiſtory it will, however, be adviſable to add the *Diarium Belli Huſſitici* of BYZINIUS, a book worthy of the higheſt eſteem, on account of the candour and impartiality with which it is compoſed, and which Mr. LENFANT does not ſeem to have conſulted. This valuable production has been publiſhed, though incomplete, in the ſixth volume of the *Reliquiæ Manuſcriptorum* of the very learned JOHN PETER LUDWIG. See alſo BEAUSOBRE's Supplement to the *Hiſtoire de la guerre des Huſſites*, *Lauſanne*, 1745, in 4to.

whom they breathed nothing but bloodſhed and fury, without any mixture of humanity or compaſſion.

The commotions in *Bohemia* terminated.

VII. In the year 1433, the council of *Baſil* endeavoured to put an end to this dreadful war, and for that purpoſe invited the Bohemians to their aſſembly. The Bohemians, accepting this invitation, ſent ambaſſadors, and among others PROCOPIUS their leader, to repreſent them in that council. But, after many warm debates, theſe meſſengers of peace returned without having effected any thing that might even prepare the way for a reconciliation ſo long and ſo ardently deſired. The *Calixtines* were not averſe to peace; but no methods of perſuaſion could engage the *Taborites* to yield. This matter, however, was tranſacted with more ſucceſs by ÆNEAS SYLVIUS and others, whom the council ſent into *Bohemia* to renew the conferences. For theſe new legates, by allowing the *Calixtines* the uſe of the cup in the holy ſacrament, ſatisfied them in the point which they had chiefly at heart, and thereby reconciled them with the Roman pontif. But the *Taborites* remained firm, adhered inflexibly to their firſt principles; and neither the artifice nor eloquence of SYLVIUS, nor the threats, ſufferings, and perſecutions to which their cauſe expoſed them, could vanquiſh their obſtinate perſeverance in it. From this period, indeed, they began to review their religious tenets, and their eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, with a deſign to render them more perfect. This review, as it was executed with great prudence and impartiality, produced a very good effect, and gave a rational aſpect to the religion of this ſect, who withdrew themſelves from the war, abandoned the doctrines, which, upon ſerious examination, they found to be inconſiſtent with the ſpirit and genius of the goſpel, and baniſhed from their communion all thoſe whoſe diſordered brains, or

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licentious manners, might expoſe them to reproach [*a*]. The *Taborites*, thus new-modelled, were the ſame with thoſe *Bohemian brethren* (or *Piccards*, i. e. *Beghards*, as their adverſaries called them) who joined LUTHER and his ſucceſſors at the reformation, and of whom there are at this day many of the deſcendants and followers in *Poland* and other countries.

Commentators.

VIII. Among the greateſt part of the interpreters of ſcripture that lived in this century, we find nothing worthy of applauſe, if we except their zeal and their good intentions. Such of them as aimed at ſomething higher than the character of bare compilers, and ventured to draw their explications from their own ſenſe of things, did little more than amuſe, or rather delude, their readers, with *myſtical* and *allegorical* fancies. At the head of this claſs of writers is ALPHONSUS TOSTATUS, biſhop of *Avila*, whoſe voluminous commentaries upon the ſacred writings exhibit nothing remarkable but their enormous bulk. LAURENTIUS VALLA is entitled to a more favorable judgment, and his ſmall collection of *Critical and Grammatical Annotations upon the New Teſtament* is far from being deſtitute of merit, ſince it pointed out to ſucceeding authors, the true method of removing the difficulties that ſometimes preſent themſelves to ſuch as ſtudy with attention the divine oracles. It is proper to obſerve here, that theſe ſacred books were, in almoſt all the kingdoms and ſtates of *Europe*, tranſlated into the languge of each reſpective people, particu-

[*a*] See ADRIANI REGENVOLSCHII *Hiſtoria Eccleſ. provinciar. Sclavonicar.* lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 165.—JOACH. CAMERARII *Hiſtorica Narratio de fratrum Eccleſiis in Bohemia, Moravia, et Polonia, Heidelb.* 1605, in 4to.—JO. LASITII *Hiſtoria fratrum Bohemicorum*, which I poſſeſs in manuſcript, and of which the eighth Book was publiſhed in 8vo. at *Amſterdam*, in the year 1649.

larly

larly in *Germany*, *Italy*, *France*, and *Britain*. This circumſtance naturally excited the expectations of a conſiderable change in the ſtate of religion, and made the thinking few hope, that the doctrine of the church would be ſoon reformed by the light, that could not but ariſe from conſulting the genuine ſources of divine truth.

The ſcholaſtic divines and moraliſts hated and oppoſed.

IX. The ſchools of divinity made a miſerable figure in this century. They were filled with teachers, who loaded their memory, and that of their diſciples, with unintelligible diſtinctions and unmeaning ſounds, that they might thus diſpute and diſcourſe with an appearance of method, upon matters which they did not underſtand. There were now few remaining, of thoſe who proved and illuſtrated the doctrines of religion by the poſitive declarations of the holy ſcriptures, and the ſentiments of the ancient fathers, and who, with all their defects, were much ſuperior to the vain and obſcure pedants of whom we now ſpeak. The ſenſeleſs jargon of the latter did not eſcape the juſt and heavy cenſure of ſome learned and judicious perſons, who looked upon their method of teaching as highly detrimental to the intereſts of true religion, and to the advancement of genuine and ſolid piety. Accordingly various plans were formed by different perſons, ſome of which had for their object the abolition of this method, others its reformation, while, in the mean time, the enemies of the *ſchoolmen* increaſed from day to day. The Myſtics, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more largely hereafter, were ardently bent upon baniſhing entirely this ſcholaſtic theology out of the Chriſtian church. Others, who ſeemed diſpoſed to treat matters with more moderation, did not inſiſt upon its total ſuppreſſion, but were of opinion, that it was neceſſary to reform it, by aboliſhing all vain and uſeleſs ſubjects of debate, by reſtraining the rage of diſ-

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puting that had infected the ſeminaries of theology, and by ſeaſoning the ſubtilty of the ſchoolmen with a happy temperature of myſtic ſenſibility and ſimplicity. This opinion was adopted by the famous GERSON, who laboured with the utmoſt zeal and aſſiduity in correcting and reforming the diſorders and abuſes that the ſcholaſtic divines had introduced into the ſeminaries [*b*], as alſo by SAVANAROLA, PETRUS DE ALLIACO, and NICHOLAS CUSANUS, whoſe treatiſe concerned *Learned Ignorance* is ſtill extant.

Principally by the reſtorers of polite literature and eloquence;

X. The litigious herd of ſchoolmen found a new claſs of enemies equally keen, in the reſtorers of Eloquence and Letters, who were not all, however, of the ſame opinion with reſpect to the manner of treating theſe ſolemn quibblers. Some of them covered with ridicule, and loaded with invectives, the ſcholaſtic doctrine, and demanded its ſuppreſſion, as a moſt trifling and abſurd ſyſtem, that was highly detrimental to the culture and improvement of the mind, and every way proper to prevent the growth of genius and true ſcience. Others looked upon this ſyſtem as ſupportable, and only propoſed illuſtrating and poliſhing it by the powers of eloquence, thus to render it more intelligible and elegant. Of this claſs was PAULUS CORTESIUS, who wrote, with this view, a commentary on the *Book of Proverbs*, in which, as we learn from himſelf, he forms a happy union between eloquence and theology, and cloaths the principle intricacies of ſcholaſtic divinity with the graces of an agreeable and perſpicuous ſtyle [*c*]. But after all, the ſcholaſtic

[*b*] RICH. SIMON, *Lettres Choiſies*, tom. ii. p. 269. & *Critique de la Bibliotheque Eccleſiaſtique M.* DU PIN, tom. i. p. 491. —THOMASII *Origines Hiſtor. Philoſ.* p. 56. and principally GERSONIS *Methodus Theologiam Studendi*, in LAUNOII *Hiſtoria Gymnaſ. Navarreni*, tom. iv. opp. part. I. p. 330.

[*c*] This work was publiſhed in folio at *Rome* in the year 1512, and at *Baſil* in 1513.

theology,

theology, ſupported by the extraordinary credit and authority of the Dominicans and Franciſcans, maintained its ground againſt its various oppoſers, nor could theſe two religious orders, who excelled in that litigious kind of learning, bear the thoughts of loſing the glory they had acquired by quibbling and diſputing in the pompous jargon of the ſchools.

and alſo by the Myſtics.

XI. This vain philoſophy, however, grew daily more contemptible in the eſteem of the judicious and the wiſe, while, at the ſame time, the *Myſtics* gathered ſtrength, and ſaw their friends and abettors multiply on all ſides. Among theſe there were, indeed, certain men of diſtinguiſhed merit, who are chargeable with few of the errors and extravagancies that were mingled with the diſcipline and doctrine of that famous ſect, ſuch as THOMAS A KEMPIS, the author of the Germanic theology, ſo highly commended by LUTHER, LAURENTIUS, JUSTINIANUS, SAVANAROLA, and others. There are, on the other hand, ſome writers of this ſect, ſuch as VINCENTIUS FERRERIUS, HENRICUS HARPHIUS, and BERNARD SENENSIS, in whoſe productions we muſt carefully ſeparate certain notions which were the effects of a warm and irregular fancy, as alſo the viſions of DIONYSIUS, whom the *Myſtics* conſider as their chief, from the noble precepts of divine wiſdom with which they are mingled. The *Myſtics* were defended againſt their adverſaries, the Dialectricians, partly by the Platonics, who were every where held in high eſteem, and partly by ſome even of the moſt eminent ſcholaſtic doctors. The former conſidered DIONYSIUS as a perſon whoſe ſentiments had been formed and nouriſhed by the ſtudy of Platoniſm, and wrote commentaries upon his writings; of which we have an eminent example in MARCILIUS FICINUS, whoſe name adds a luſtre to the Platonic ſchool. The latter at-

tempted a certain ſort of aſſociation between the ſcholaſtic theology and that of the Myſtics; and in this claſs were JOHN GERSON, NICHOLAS CUSANUS, DIONYSIUS the Carthuſian, and others.

The ſtate of polemic or controverſial divinity.

XII. The controverſy with the enemies of Chriſtianity was carried on with much more vigour in this than in the preceding ages, and ſeveral learned and eminent men ſeemed now to exert themſelves with peculiar induſtry and zeal in demonſtrating the truth of that divine religion, and defending it againſt the various objections of its adverſaries. This appears from the learned book of MARCILIUS FICINUS, *Concerning the Truth of Chriſtianity*, SAVANAROLA's *Triumph of the Croſs*, the *Natural Theology* of RAYMOND DE SABUNDE, and other productions of a like nature. The Jews were refuted by PEREZIUS and JEROME DE St. FOI, the Saracens by JOHANNES DE TURRECREMATA, and both theſe claſſes of unbelievers were oppoſed by ALPHONSUS DE SPINA, in his work entitled, *The Fortreſs of Faith*. Nor were theſe pious labours in the defence of the Goſpel at all unſeaſonable or ſuperfluous; on the contrary, the ſtate of things at this time rendered them neceſſary. For, on the one hand, the Ariſtotelian philoſophers in *Italy* ſeemed, in their public inſtructions, to ſtrike at the foundations of all religion; and, on the other hand, the ſenſeleſs ſubtilties and quarrels of the ſchoolmen, who modelled religion according to their extravagant fancies, tended to bring it into contempt. Add to all this, that the Jews and Saracens lived in many places promiſcuouſly with the Chriſtians, who were therefore obliged, by the proximity of the enemy, to defend themſelves with the utmoſt aſſiduity and zeal.

The ſchiſm between the Latins and Greeks not yet healed.

XIII. We have already taken notice of the fruitleſs attempts that had been made to heal the unhappy diviſions that ſeparated the Greek and Latin

Latin churches. After the council of *Florence*, and the violation of the treaty of pacification by the Greeks, NICHOLAS V. exhorted and intreated them again to turn their thoughts towards the reſtoration of peace and concord. But his exhortations were without effect; and in about the ſpace of three years after the writing of this laſt letter, *Conſtantinople* was beſieged and taken by the Turks. And from that fatal period to the preſent time, the Roman pontifs, in all their attempts to bring about a reconciliation, have always found the Grecian patriarchs more obſtinate and intractable than they were when their empire was in a flouriſhing ſtate. Nor is this circumſtance ſo difficult to be accounted for, when all things are duly conſidered. This obſtinacy was the effect of a rooted averſion to the Latins and their pontifs, that acquired, from day to day, new degrees of ſtrength and bitterneſs in the hearts of the Greeks: an averſion, produced and nouriſhed by a perſuaſion that the calamities they ſuffered under the Turkiſh yoke might have been eaſily removed, if the weſtern princes and the Roman pontifs had not refuſed to ſuccour them againſt their haughty tyrants. And accordingly, when the Greek writers deplore the calamities that fell upon their devoted country, their complaints are always mingled with heavy accuſations againſt the Latins, whoſe cruel inſenſibility to their unhappy ſituation they paint in the ſtrongeſt and moſt odious colours.

The inteſtine diviſions and conteſts of the Latins.

XIV. We paſs over in ſilence many trifling controverſies among the Latins, which have no ſort of claim to the attention of our readers. But we muſt not omit mentioning the revival of that famous diſpute concerning the *kind* of worſhip that was to be paid to the blood of CHRIST, which was firſt kindled at *Barcelona*, in the year 1351, between the Franciſcans and Dominicans,

and

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and had been left undecided by CLEMENT VI. [*d*]. This controverſy was now renewed at *Brixen*, in year 1462, by JACOBUS à MARCHIA, a celebrated Franciſcan, who maintained publicly, in one of his ſermons, that the *blood*, which CHRIST ſhed upon the croſs, did not belong to the *divine nature*, and of conſequence was not to be conſidered as an object of *divine* and immediate *worſhip*. The Dominicans rejected this doctrine; and adopted, with ſuch zeal, the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion, that JAMES of *Brixen*, who performed the office of inquiſitor, called the Franciſcan before his tribunal, and accuſed him of *hereſy*. The Roman pontif PIUS II., having made ſeveral ineffectual attempts to ſuppreſs this controverſy, was at laſt perſuaded to ſubmit the matter to the examination and judgment of a ſelect number of able divines. But many obſtacles aroſe to prevent a final deciſion, among which we may reckon as the principal, the influence and authority of the contending orders, each of which had embarked with zeal in the cauſe of their reſpective champions. Hence, after much altercation and chicane, the pontif thought proper to impoſe ſilence on both the parties in this miſerable diſpute, in the year 1464; declaring, at the ſame time, "That both ſides of the queſtion "might be lawfully held, until CHRIST's *Vicar* "upon earth ſhould find leiſure and opportunity "for examining the matter, and determining on "what ſide the truth lay." This *leiſure* and *opportunity* have not as yet been offered to the pontifs [*e*].

[*d*] LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 58.—JAC. ECHARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 650.

[*e*] WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. xiii. p. 206.—NAT. ALEXANDER, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Sæc.* xv. p. 17.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies that were uſed in the Church during this century.

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Rites of the Greek church.

I. THE ſtate of religious ceremonies among the Greeks may be learned from the book of SIMEON of *Theſſalonica, Concerning Rites and Hereſies* [*f*], from which it appears, that the ſubſtance of religion was loſt among that people; that a ſplendid ſhadow of pomp and vanity was ſubſtituted in its place by the rulers of the church; and that all the branches of divine worſhip were ordered in ſuch a manner as to ſtrike the imaginations and captivate the ſenſes of the multitude. They pretended, indeed, to allege ſeveral reaſons for multiplying, as they did, the external rites and inſtitutions of religion; and caſting over the whole of divine worſhip ſuch a pompous garb of worldly ſplendor. But in theſe reaſons, and in all the explications they give of this gaudy ritual, there is much ſubtilty and invention, without the leaſt appearance of truth or good ſenſe to render them plauſible. The origin of theſe multiplied rites, that caſt a cloud over the native beauty and luſtre of religion, is often obſcure, and frequently diſhonourable. And ſuch as, by force of ill-applied genius and invention, have endeavoured to derive honour to theſe ceremonies from the circumſtances that gave occaſion to them, have failed egregiouſly in this deſperate attempt. The deceit is too palpable to ſeduce any mind that is void of prejudice and capable of attention.

[*f*] J. A. FABRICIUS gives us an account of the contents of this book in his *Biblioth. Græca.* vol. xiv. p. 54.

II. Though

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Rites increaſed in the Latin church.

II. Though the more rational and judicious of the Roman pontifs complained of their overgrown multitude of ceremonies, feſtivals, temples, and the like, and did not ſeem unwilling to have this enormous maſs ſomewhat diminiſhed, they nevertheleſs diſtinguiſhed, every one his own pontificate, by ſome new inſtitution, and thought it their duty to perpetuate their fame by ſome new edict of this nature. Thus CALIXTUS III., to immortalize the remembrance of the deliverance of *Belgrade* from the victorious arms of MAHOMET II., who had been obliged to raiſe the ſiege of that city, ordered, in the year 1456, the feſtival in honour of the *Transfiguration of* CHRIST (which had been celebrated in ſome places by private authority before this period) to be religiouſly obſerved throughout all the weſtern world. And SIXTUS IV., in the year 1476, granted *Indulgences*, by an expreſs and particular edict, to all thoſe who ſhould devoutly celebrate an annual feſtival in honour of the *immaculate conception of the bleſſed Virgin*, with reſpect to which none of the Roman pontifs before him had thought proper to make any expreſs declaration, or any poſitive appointment [g]. The other additions that were made to the Roman ritual, relating to the worſhip of the Virgin MARY, public and private prayers, the traffic of *Indulgences*, and other things of that nature, are of too little importance to deſerve an exact and circumſtantial enumeration. We need not ſuch a particular detail to convince us, that in this century religion was reduced to mere ſhow, to a ſhow compoſed of pompous abſurdities and ſplendid trifles.

[g] See RAPH. VOLATERRANI *Comment. Urbani*, lib. viii. f. 289.—ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, *De Statu Europæ ſub Frederico* III., cap. x. in FREHERI *Scriptor. rerum Germanicar.* tom. ii. p. 104.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the hereſies, ſects, and diviſions that troubled the Church during this century.

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Manicheans and Waldenſes.

I. NEITHER the ſevere edicts of the pontifs and emperors, nor the barbarity and vigilance of the unrelenting *inquiſitors*, could extirpate the remains of the ancient hereſies, or prevent the riſe of new ſects. We have already ſeen the Franciſcan order at open war with the church of *Rome*. In *Boſnia*, and the adjacent countries, the Manicheans, or Paulicians, who were the ſame with the ſect named in *Italy*, *Cathariſts*, propagated their doctrines with confidence, and held their religious aſſemblies with impunity. It is true, indeed, that the great protector of the Manicheans, STEPHEN THOMASCUS, king of *Boſnia*, abjured their errors, received baptiſm by the miniſtry of JOHN CARVAIALUS, a Roman cardinal, and, in conſequence thereof, expelled theſe heretics out of his dominions. But it is alſo certain, that he afterwards changed his mind; and it is well known, that, towards the concluſion of this century, the Manicheans inhabited *Boſnia*, *Servia*, and the neighbouring provinces. The *Waldenſes* alſo ſtill ſubſiſted in ſeveral European provinces, more eſpecially in *Pomerania*, *Brandenburg*, the diſtrict of *Magdeburg* and *Thuringia*, where they had a conſiderable number of friends and followers. It appears, however, by authentic records, which are not yet publiſhed, that a great part of the adherents of this unfortunate ſect, in the countries now mentioned, were diſcovered by the *inquiſitors*, and delivered over by them to the civil magiſtrates, who committed them to the flames.

II. The

Beghards, Schweſtriones, Pichards, and Adamites.

II. The *Brethren and Siſters of the free ſpirit* (who were called, in *Germany*, *Beghards*, or *Schweſtriones*, and in *France*, *Turelupins*, and whoſe diſtinctive character was a ſpecies of myſticiſm that bordered upon frenzy) wandered about in a ſecret and diſguiſed manner in ſeveral parts of *France*, *Germany*, and *Flanders*, and particularly in *Suabia* and *Switzerland*, where they ſpread the contagion of their enthuſiaſm, and caught the unwary in their ſnares. The ſearch, however, that was made after them was ſo ſtrict and well-conducted, that few of the teachers and chiefs of this fanatical ſect eſcaped the hands of the *inquiſitors* [*b*]. When the war between the *Huſſites* and the votaries of *Rome* broke out in *Bohemia* in the year 1418, a troop of theſe fanatics, with a perſon at their head whoſe name was JOHN, repaired thither, and held ſecret aſſemblies, firſt at *Prague*, and afterwards in different places, from whence they, at length, retired to a certain iſland, where they were leſs expoſed to the notice of their enemies. It was, as we have already had occaſion to obſerve, one of the leading principles of this ſect, that the tender inſtincts of nature, with that baſhfulneſs and modeſty that generally accompany them, were evident marks of *inherent corruption*, and ſhewed, that the mind was not

[*b*] FELIX MALLEOLUS (whoſe German name is *Haemmerlein*) in his account of the *Lollards*, which is ſubjoined to his book *Contra validos Mendicantes*, i. e. *againſt the ſturdy Beggars*, *Oper. plag. c. 2. a.* has given us a liſt, though a very imperfect one, of the *Beghards* that were committed to the flames in *Switzerland*, and the adjacent countries, during this century. This author, in his books againſt the *Beghards* and *Lollards*, has (either through deſign, or by a miſtake founded on the ambiguity of the terms) confounded together three different claſſes of perſons, who were uſually known by the appellation of *Beghards* and *Lollards*; as 1*ſt*, the *Tertiaries*, or third order of the more auſtere Franciſcans; 2*dly*, the *Brethren of the free ſpirit*; and 3*dly*, the *Cellite* or *Alexian* friars. Many writers have fallen into the ſame error.

ſufficiently

ſufficiently *purified* nor rendered conformable to the divine nature, from whence it derived its origin. And they alone were deemed perfect by theſe fanatics, and ſuppoſed to be united to the Supreme Being, who could behold, without any emotion, the naked bodies of the ſex to which they did not belong, and who, in imitation of what was practiſed before the fall by our firſt parents, went ſtark naked, and converſed familiarly in this manner with males and females, without feeling any of the tender propenſities of nature. Hence it was that the *Beghards*, (whom the Bohemians, by a change in the pronunciation of that word called *Picards*) when they came into their religious aſſemblies, and were preſent at the celebration of divine worſhip, appeared abſolutely naked, without any ſort of veil or covering at all. They had alſo conſtantly in their mouths a maxim, which, indeed, was very ſuitable to the genius of the religion they profeſſed, *viz. that* THEY WERE NOT FREE (*i. e.* ſufficiently extricated from the ſhackles of the body) *who made uſe of the garments, particularly ſuch garments as covered the thighs and the parts adjacent.* Theſe horrible tenets could not but caſt a deſerved reproach upon this abſurd ſect; and though nothing paſſed in their religious aſſemblies that was contrary to the rules of virtue, yet they were univerſally ſuſpected of the moſt ſcandalous incontinence, and of the moſt laſcivious practices. ZISKA, the auſtere general of the Huſſites, gave credit to theſe ſuſpicions, and to the rumours they occaſioned; and, falling upon this miſerable ſect in the year 1421, he put ſome to the ſword, and condemned the reſt to the flames, which dreadful puniſhment they ſuſtained with the moſt chearful fortitude, and alſo with that contempt of death that was peculiar to their ſect, and which they poſſeſſed in a degree that ſeems

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ſeems to ſurpaſs credibility [*i*]. Among the various titles by which theſe extravagant enthuſiaſts were diſtinguiſhed, that of *Adamites* was one; and it was given them on account of their being ſo ſtudious to imitate the ſtate of innocence in which the firſt man was originally created. The ignominious term of *Beghards*, or *Picards*, which was at firſt peculiar to the ſmall ſect of which we now treat, was afterwards applied to the *Huſſites*, and to all the Bohemians who oppoſed the tyranny of the Roman church. All theſe were called by their enemies, and indeed by the multitude in general, *Picard friars*.

The White Brethren.

III. A new ſect, which made a great noiſe, and infected the multitude with the contagion of their enthuſiaſm, aroſe about the beginning of this century. A certain prieſt, whoſe name is not known, deſcended from the *Alps* [*k*], arrayed in

[*i*] See JO. LASITII *Hiſtoria Fratrum Bohemorum*, MS. lib. ii. § lxxvi. who proves, in a ſatisfactory and circumſtantial manner, that the *Huſſites* and the *Bohemian Brethren* were entirely diſtinct from theſe *Picards*, and had nothing at all in common with them. The other authors that have written upon this ſubject are honourably mentioned by ISAAC DE BEAUSOBRE in his *Diſſertation ſur les Adamites de Boheme*, which is ſubjoined to LENFANT's *Hiſtoire de la Guerre des Huſſites*. This learned author is at vaſt pains in juſtifying the *Picards*, or Bohemian *Adamites*, whom he ſuppoſes to have been the ſame with the *Waldenſes*, and a ſet of men eminent for their piety, whom their enemies loaded with the moſt groundleſs accuſations. But this is manifeſtly endeavouring to waſh the Æthiopian white. For it may be demonſtrated, by the moſt unexceptionable and authentic records, that the account I have given of the matter is true. The reſearches I have made, and the knowledge they have procured me of the civil and religious hiſtory of theſe times, entitle me perhaps to more credit in ſuch a point as this, than the laborious author from whom I differ, whoſe acquaintance with the hiſtory of the middle age was but ſuperficial, and who was, by no means, exempt from prejudice and partiality.

☞ [*k*] THEODORIC DE NIEM tells us, that it was from *Scotland* that the ſect came, and that their leader gave himſelf out for the prophet ELIAS. SIGONIUS and PLATINA inform us, that this enthuſiaſt came from *France*; that he was clothed in white,

in a white garment, and accompanied with a prodigious number of perſons of both ſexes, who, after the example of their chief, were alſo clothed in white linen, from whence they were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Fratres Albati*, i. e. *White Brethren*. This enthuſiaſtic multitude went in a kind of proceſſion through ſeveral provinces, following a croſs, which their leader held erected like a ſtandard, and, by the ſtriking appearance of their ſanctity and devotion, captivated to ſuch a degree the minds of the people wherever they went, that perſons of all ranks and orders flocked in crowds to augment their number. The new chief exhorted his followers to appeaſe the anger of an incenſed Deity, emaciated his body by voluntary acts of mortification and penance, endeavoured to perſuade the European nations to renew the war againſt the Turks in *Paleſtine*, and pretended, that he was favoured with divine viſions, which inſtructed him in the will and in the ſecrets of Heaven. BONIFACE IX., apprehending that this enthuſiaſt or impoſtor concealed inſidious and ambitious views [*l*], had him ſeized

white, carried in his aſpect the greateſt modeſty, and ſeduced prodigious numbers of people of both ſexes, and of all ages; that his followers (called *penitents*), among whom were ſeveral cardinals and prieſts, were clothed in white linen down to their heels, with caps which covered their whole faces, except their eyes; that they went in great troops of ten, twenty, and forty thouſand perſons, from one city to another, calling out for mercy, and ſinging hymns; that wherever they came, they were received with great hoſpitality, and made innumerable proſelytes; that they faſted, or lived upon bread and water during the time of their pilgrimage, which continued generally nine or ten days. See *Annal. Mediol.* ap. MURATORI.—NIEM. lib. ii. cap. xvi.

☞ [*l*] What Dr. MOSHEIM hints but obſcurely here, is farther explained by SIGONIUS and PLATINA, who tell us, that the pilgrims, mentioned in the preceding note, ſtopped at *Viterbo*, and that BONIFACE, fearing leſt the prieſt, who headed them, deſigned by their aſſiſtance to ſeize upon the pontificate, ſent a body of troops thither, who apprehended the falſe prophet, and carried him to *Rome*, where he was burnt.

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and committed to the flames; upon which his followers were diſperſed, and his ſect entirely extinguiſhed. Whether a puniſhment ſo ſevere was inflicted with reaſon and juſtice, is a point that has been debated, and yet remains uncertain; for ſeveral writers of great credit and authority maintain the innocence of the ſectary, while others aſſert that he was convicted of the moſt enormous crimes [*m*].

The men of underſtanding.

IV. In the year 1411, a ſect was diſcovered in *Flanders*, and more eſpecially at *Bruſſels*, which owed its origin to an illiterate man, whoſe name was ÆGIDIUS CANTOR, and to WILLIAM of HILDENISSEN, a Carmelite monk, and whoſe members were diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Men of underſtanding*. There were many things reprehenſible in the doctrine of this ſect, which ſeemed to be chiefly derived from the theology of the Myſtics. For they pretended to be honoured with celeſtial viſions, denied that any could arrive at a perfect knowledge of the Holy Scriptures without the extraordinary ſuccours of a Divine illumination; declared the approach of a new revelation from heaven, more complete and perfect than the Goſpel of CHRIST; maintained, that the reſurrection was already accompliſhed in the perſon of JESUS, and that no other reſurrection was to be expected; affirmed, that the inward man was not defiled by the outward actions, whatever they were; that the pains of hell were to have an end, and that, not only all mankind, but even the devils themſelves, were to return to God, and be made partakers of eternal felicity. This ſect ſeems to have been a branch of that of

[*m*] See LENFANT, *Hiſt. du Concile de Piſe*, tom. i. p. 102.—POGGIA, *Hiſtoria Florentina*, lib. iii. p. 122.—MARC. ANTON. SABELLICUS *in Enneadibus Rhapſodiæ Hiſtoricæ, Ennead.* ix. lib. ix. tom. ii. opp. p. 839. publiſhed in folio at *Baſil* in the year 1560.

the *Brethren and ſiſters of the free ſpirit*; ſince they declared, that a new diſpenſation of grace and ſpiritual liberty was to be promulgated to mortals by the Holy Ghoſt. It muſt however be acknowledged, on the other hand, that their abſurdities were mingled with ſeveral opinions, which ſhewed, that they were not totally void of *underſtanding*; for they maintained, among other things, "1*ſt*, that CHRIST alone had merited "eternal life and felicity for the human race, "and that therefore men could not acquire this "ineſtimable privilege by their own actions "alone; 2*dly*, that the prieſts, to whom the "people confeſſed their tranſgreſſions, had not "the power of abſolving them, but that it was "CHRIST alone in whom this authority was veſt-"ed; and 3*dly*, that voluntary penance and mor-"tification were not neceſſary to ſalvation." Theſe propoſitions, however, and ſome others, were declared *heretical* by PETER D'AILLY, biſhop of *Cambray*, who obliged WILLIAM of HILDENISSEN to abjure them [*n*], and oppoſed with the greateſt vehemence and ſucceſs the progreſs of this ſect.

A new ſect of Flagellantes, or Whippers.

V. The ſect of the *Flagellantes*, or *Whippers*, continued to excite commotions in *Germany*, more eſpecially in *Thuringia* and the *Lower Saxony*; but theſe fanatics were very different from the ancient heretics of the ſame name, who ran wildly in troops through various provinces. The new *Whippers* rejected not only the ſacraments, but alſo every branch of external worſhip, and placed their only hopes of ſalvation in *faith* and *flagellation*; to which they added ſome ſtrange doctrines concerning the *evil ſpirit*, and other matters, which are not explained with ſufficient perſpicuity in the records of antiquity. The perſon

[*n*] See the records of this tranſaction in STEPH. BALUZ. *Miſcellan.* tom. ii. p. 277.

that

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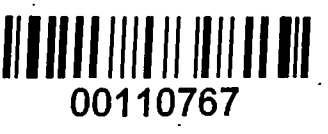
that appeared at the head of this ſect in *Thuringia* was CONRAD SCHMIDT, who, with many of his followers, was apprehended and committed to the flames [o], in the year 1414, by HENRY SCHONEFELD, who was, at that time, inquiſitor in *Germany*, and rendered his name famous by his induſtry and zeal in the extirpation of hereſy. NICHOLAS SCHADEN ſuffered at *Quedlingburg* for his attachment to this ſect. BERTHOLF SCHADE, who was ſeized at *Halberſtadt* in the year 1481, eſcaped death, as appears moſt probable, by abjuring their doctrine [p]; and we find in the records of theſe unhappy times a numerous liſt of the *Flagellantes*, whom the *German* inquiſitors devoted to the flames.

[o] *Excerpta Monachi Pirnenſis*, in Jo. BURCH. MENKENII *Scriptor. rerum Germanicar.* tom. ii. p. 1521.—*Chron. Monaſter.* in ANTON. MATTHÆI *Analect. vet. ævi*, tom. v. p. 71.—*Chron. Magdeb.* in MEIBOMII *Scriptor. rerum German.* tom. ii. p. 362.—From xvi articles of faith adopted by this ſect, which were committed to writing by a certain inquiſitor of *Brandenborch* in the year 1411, and which CONRAD SCHMIDT is ſaid to have taken from the papers of *Walkenried*, we may derive a tolerable idea of their doctrine, of which the ſubſtance is as follows: *That the opinions adopted by the Roman church, with reſpect to the efficacy of the ſacraments, the flames of purgatory, praying for the dead, and ſeveral other points, are entirely falſe and groundleſs; and that the perſon, who believes what is contained in the Apoſtles Creed, repeats frequently the Lord's Prayer and the Ave Maria, and at certain times laſhes his body ſeverely, as a voluntary puniſhment of the tranſgreſſions he has committed, ſhall obtain eternal ſalvation.*

[p] See the account of this matter which is given by the learned Jo. ERNEST KAPPIUS, in his *Relat. de rebus Theologicis Antiquis et Novis*, A. 1747, p. 475.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.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